

NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW

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The National Municipal Review

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NEWS for League Members

Pick San Antonio for '52 Conference

The 1952 National Conference on Government will be held November 17, 18 and 19 in San Antonio, it was decided by the executive committee of the National Municipal League at a meeting held March 12 in New York.

Delegates to the Cincinnati Conference were given a rather broad hint of the "get-up-and-go" of this booming city when at the annual dinner an 80-foot streamer shouting "SAN ANTONIO NEXT!" was found hanging from the rail of the ballroom balcony.

An invitation was presented at the meeting of the League's Council and local civic leaders, in addition to six of the newly elected nine San Antonio councilmen, did a job of lobbying which, while unusual at League meetings, succeeded in demonstrating that the Texas city genuinely wanted to play host to the Conference in 1952.

It was not this artful politicking nor the fact that San Antonio is charmingly unusual among American cities that persuaded the executive committee to take the Conference farther south than it has ever before gone during the 53 years it has been held, however. The decision was influenced chiefly by San Antonio's dramatic civic rebirth.

For more than a generation, as League correspondence files tragically show, San Antonio was dominated almost continuously by spoils politicians.

The change began when, after the war, the Bureau of Governmental Research was established under the able direction of Edward G. Conroy, member of an old San Antonio family, who had gone back home after distinguished service in the Navy and years of experience elsewhere with governmental problems.

Gradually Conroy's fact-gathering and analyses armed the natural civic leadership of the city. Came the day in 1949 when a reform candidate, on a dare, ran for mayor and snowed under the machine boss four to one, beating him in every precinct. Last spring the voters added four more non-politician business and professional men to the governing commission of five and, at the same time, elected a charter commission.

A Citizens Committee for Council Manager Government, under the leadership of Alex R. Thomas, now an NML regional vice president, was formed to

(Continued on page 227)

Ancient missions like (right) the Alamo, shrine of Texas liberty, mingle in San Antonio with the modern skyline (below) of a booming city.





Left to right, Russell E. McClure, Dayton city manager; Henry S. Stout, president, All-Dayton Committee; Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, NML regional vice president; and Harland Bartholomew, noted city planner.

Dayton Praised for Self-reliance

Dayton "pulled itself up by its own bootstraps" instead of running to the state capital or to Washington for help, Mrs. Siegel W. Judd, regional vice president of the National Municipal League, told a meeting of the All-Dayton Committee March 6, when she presented the 1951 "All-American Cities" award to Henry S. Stout, president of the committee.

Recalling that Dayton had become famous among American cities nearly 40 years ago as the first large city to adopt the council-manager plan, Mrs. Judd, a former president of the Grand Rapids League of Women Voters, said the Ohio city's newest claim to fame was based on the vote of its citizens, by a 74 per cent majority, to impose a local income tax on themselves to finance an improvement program.

She paid tribute to the "courage to

look to yourselves to do the job, the old pioneer spirit with which you long ago launched the new council-manager plan, the spirit that made America, the spirit that became the beacon light in this era when the cry for security is louder than the cry for liberty."

Mrs. Judd contrasted Dayton's record of accomplishment as "an example of what the council-manager plan can do for a city" with that of Grand Rapids which, after years of being a manager plan city "in name only," had recently experienced a great revival of citizen interest. Grand Rapids, as well as "cities all over the United States," she said, "look to Dayton once more for advice and ideas, for inspiration and leadership, as they did a generation ago when you made the great experiment with the council-manager plan of city government."

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Why People Don't Vote

GET OUT the vote! This call will come from millions of printing presses, loud speakers and platforms between now and November. It is good advice, as far as it goes, but how far will it go?

At best, pre-election exhortation can be expected to produce only momentary and minor improvement in the admittedly disgraceful American record of non-voting. The only indoctrination that is likely to produce substantial improvement must begin in improved methods of civic education in the schools and in such character building organizations as the Scouts, the Ys and the like. Fortunately, since the war, more attention has been paid to this problem than ever before. If the experiments being carried out and the tools being developed pay off, Citizenship Day could become more and more significant.

But if civic education or any crusade to increase the percentage of habitual voters is to be really effective, it must show the voters how they can simplify and clarify their task and make it meaningful. A major reason for non-voting in American elections is the difficulty, in many instances the impossibility, that confronts a conscientious citizen when he attempts to discover what he can accomplish by marking his ballot.

Most ballots are still too long and cluttered up with candidates whose qualifications, if any, for the multifarious jobs listed no individual can ascertain.

In many elections rigged nomi-

nating systems leave the independent minded voter with little better than Hobson's choice. This commonly is the result of the deliberate perversion of primary laws and procedures by party organizations that are themselves so managed that it takes citizens with tough minds, and sometimes strong stomachs, to attempt to reform them from within.

The confusion of national, state, county and municipal issues is another stumbling block for voters lacking the mental and moral agility to be Democrats or Republicans, as the case may be, for everything from city constable or county sheriff to president of the United States.

These are some of the reasons why many citizens who journey to the polls only once in four years ignore many of the candidates for state and local office. A further reason lies in the fact that most county governments and many municipal governments are so badly set up it is difficult or impossible to get real competition among high-grade candidates interested in serving the public rather than themselves or a machine. This leaves many voters feeling that, while they may have two candidates to vote against, they have no candidate to vote for.

Get out the vote? By all means. But let us not delude ourselves by supposing that non-voting is as simple as sin or the remedy as easy as a hell-fire and damnation sermon. Pathological or dangerous non-voting is a symptom of a more fundamental illness. A real cure can be achieved only by treating the causes, not by deploring the symptom.

A Good Step Backward

CONGRESS, by joint resolution, has changed the name of "I Am an American Day" to "Citizenship Day" and has also changed the date from the third Sunday in May to September 17, the anniversary of the signing of the constitution.

Citizenship Day was the name originally chosen for ceremonies which in 1939 were held to honor new citizens in Manitowoc, Wisconsin, to welcome those reaching voting age or becoming naturalized citizens.¹

This was the name proposed when Congress first considered setting aside a day for national observance. While the matter was being debated, someone who thought "oomph" the all-important ingredient sold a committee on the more elaborate and somewhat confusing name.

Just how much the name contributed to the rather superficial character of most observances during the last decade may be open to question. Programs generally included patriotic oratory by a person or two in public life and by motion picture stars, if available, plus a solo by a prominent singer.

As the REVIEW has pointed out on previous occasions, the original idea of Citizenship Day was much more substantial than "Just another orgy of Fourth of July oratory." In Manitowoc and elsewhere in Wis-

consin, the celebration was only part of the whole affair. It culminated weeks of study and discussions in which those about to achieve full citizenship had an opportunity to develop a real understanding of the responsibilities as well as the privileges of citizenship.

There was much more dignity and sense of purpose in this program, which was worked out carefully and thoughtfully with the cooperation of the University of Wisconsin.² There was a conscious effort to recapture some of the values of early tribal customs in which youths reaching maturity were required to demonstrate their fitness and readiness to assume full-fledged membership in the tribe.

Just as group singing is more beneficial to the participant than merely listening to a trained performer, the coming to grips with fundamentals by all can show us why "the American way" is something to cherish better than can any amount of oratory.

The bitter ideological struggle in which we are engaged calls for knowledge, understanding, conviction. Now that the original Citizenship Day has been regained, let us take the next step and regain the tribal training period. This is bigger than any ceremony. It calls primarily for work and effort.

²*Citizenship Training and Induction for New Voters. A Guide to the Wisconsin Citizenship Program. University of Wisconsin, Madison, 1939.*

¹See the REVIEW, July 1939, page 499.

Atlanta Pioneers in Merger

City area tripled and services are divided with county in award-winning movement to solve metropolitan problem.

By LYNWOOD M. HOLLAND*

THE selection and public support of a local commission to study and make plans for improving the governments of Atlanta and Fulton County, Georgia, was a pioneer step in the south, if not in the United States. For the first time, a locally appointed government group from two counties took the initiative not only in making a plan but also in securing its adoption.

The excellent work of the commission, and its overwhelming support by the voters, was recognized when the city of Atlanta was selected by the National Municipal League and the *Minneapolis Tribune* as one of the eleven "All-American Cities" for 1951. The citation described the plan as "one of the most helpful examples of progress in meeting metropolitan area problems" in recent years and as "the best accomplishment of its kind in half a century."

On January 1, 1952, Atlanta tripled its geographic area from 35 to 118 square miles and added 96,985 new citizens to its population of 331,314, thereby moving the city from 32nd to 23rd in rank of cities according to population. In the newly expanded area Atlanta took over 39 public schools formerly operated by Fulton County and with them 17,000 pupils.

But the expansion of Atlanta's city limits was just one phase of the plan of improvement mapped by the Local Government Commission of Atlanta and Fulton County. The commission was formally created by law in 1949. It was composed of twelve men—six from Fulton County and six from DeKalb County, appointed by the members of the Georgia General Assembly from those counties. Although DeKalb County was not included in the study, it was given representation because Atlanta lies partly within its boundaries.

The commission began its meetings in March 1949. Its members held conferences and hearings with both private individuals and public officials in an effort to determine what plan would best fit the needs of growing metropolitan Atlanta. Two outstanding research analysts were employed and to them is due much of the credit for the final project.

The commission studied plans which had been used by other metropolitan communities as well as those suggested by previous surveys of Atlanta and Fulton County.¹ It analyzed the geography and population of the area, the distribution of governmental services, the tax structure in city and county, and the impact upon revenues of possible

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¹See, for example, *The Governments of Atlanta and Fulton County, Georgia*, by the Consultant Service of the National Municipal League, Thomas H. Reed, Director. New York, 1938. 619 pages.

changes in boundary lines and departmental consolidations, and made a department-by-department study of the governments of Atlanta and Fulton County.

To understand the plan of improvement which was proposed, and later adopted with some minor modifications, one must be familiar with the geography of Fulton County and Atlanta as well as the various governmental functions which were performed prior to the adoption of the program. Fulton County is shaped like an old continental dowager of the nineteenth century, with a high comb in her hair and a sweeping dress. The county is 60 miles in length but varies in width from two and a half to twenty miles. Its land area is approximately 523 square miles. The central part is predominantly urban but the northern and southern parts are strictly rural. In terms of farms and farm population it is the fourth largest agricultural county of the state but at the same time has the largest urban population of any county.

The city of Atlanta and its heavily populated suburbs are located in the middle of Fulton County, but approximately 20 per cent of the city's area and 10 per cent of its population is in DeKalb County, east of Fulton. In addition to Atlanta there are nine incorporated municipalities and 63 unincorporated towns and villages in Fulton County. Atlanta is fortunate in comparison with other major cities in that it is not circumscribed by incorporated municipalities. The largest municipalities are the tri-

cities of Hapeville, College Park and East Point, south of the city.

Although the population of the city has increased 64 per cent within the past 30 years, the suburban areas have increased 167 per cent during the same period. In other words, the big population growth has been in the unincorporated areas adjacent to the city limits.

County Provided City Services

One of the major results of the phenomenal population growth outside Atlanta was that Fulton County was compelled to provide city services. Gradually since 1920 Fulton County and Atlanta have been performing similar services and functions. This resulted in duplication of effort, cost, personnel and organization. Earlier efforts to remedy such conditions resulted in the formal cooperation of Atlanta and Fulton County in welfare (the Fulton County Department of Public Welfare made its services available to county residents both inside and outside the municipalities), water, sewers, courts, library, fire, police, schools, bond programs, planning and hospitals.

Probably the two most important cooperations were, and still are, in planning and hospitals. The Metropolitan Planning Commission is jointly supported by Atlanta, Fulton County and DeKalb County and is engaged in physical planning on a broad area-wide basis. In hospital cooperation the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority was especially established to operate charity hospitals in the area. It is a joint enterprise supported by county-wide

taxes in both counties. The governing board is composed of representatives of Atlanta, Fulton County outside of Atlanta and DeKalb County outside of Atlanta, and supervises the running of Grady Hospital, including the Steiner Clinic.

In addition there have been numerous instances of informal cooperation among departments and officials of all governments in the area.

Tax Burdens Unequal

Previous studies had revealed the complexity of administrative and financial problems in both Atlanta and Fulton County. Added to these was the inequality in the tax burden resulting from expansion of the county government, which added new services without asking the people who received these services to pay for them directly because a county does not have power to create tax districts. A survey revealed that only one area in Fulton County outside Atlanta paid as much in taxes as it received from the county. Other areas failed to carry their proportionate share of the cost of services received. This resulted in taxpayers, particularly in Atlanta, paying hundreds of thousands of dollars yearly for the benefit of other communities. Studies further revealed inequality in the assessed valuation of property in different areas of the county as well as sharp differences in valuations in the same area.

One of the major barriers to the people who made previous studies was that since the county government performed municipal services for residents in the suburbs, these

residents resisted all moves to extend the city limits because their needs were met. Many people were getting municipal services and paying little, if anything, for them. Inability to extend its city boundaries meant that the over-all cost of government increased in Atlanta, while at the same time its revenue was reduced as residents migrated to the suburbs. City services were used during the day by persons employed in the city who returned to their homes outside the city at night.

In attempting to work out its plan of improvement the commission had to consider several complicated local factors that made solutions difficult. One was that Atlanta spread across into DeKalb County. But DeKalb County and Decatur, the county seat, opposed any further expansion of Atlanta in their areas. Added to this was the fact that the unincorporated areas in northern DeKalb County were the fastest growing areas of the two counties. The pride of a county in its boundaries automatically prevented any cession to another.

The Local Government Commission made three major recommendations. The first provided for extension of the city limits to include adjacent unincorporated urban and suburban neighborhoods in Fulton County, but the boundaries of no municipality other than Atlanta were to be disturbed. From the newly annexed areas two new wards were to be created. These by special election would choose two councilmen, one alderman and one member of the board of education who

would serve until the end of the terms which began in 1950. In addition, the plan included a detailed procedure for the future extension of the city limits.

The second major recommendation was the allocation of service functions between the governments of Atlanta and Fulton County. The following functions were to be consolidated under the Atlanta government: police protection, fire protection, refuse collection and disposal, inspections, parks and recreation, and airports. Fulton County's power to exercise these functions through its own personnel and facilities was to be withdrawn by law.

The following functions were to be retained by the city government: water distribution, sewage disposal, library service, auditorium and traffic engineer. In water distribution, however, the commission recommended that the Atlanta Water Department adopt a considerably more liberal policy in the adjacent areas outside the city limits.

County's Duties

All public health service was to be consolidated under the county government and the administrative board was to be expanded to include four additional representatives from the city of Atlanta—the mayor and three others appointed by the Atlanta service council. In addition Fulton County was to continue to provide the following services: courts, public welfare, almshouse, agriculture, sheriff, coroner, ordinary (probate judge), and surveyor.

The commission further recommended that the schools and street

and road construction (public works) continue to be handled by the separate departments in both the city and the county governments. The only change was the transfer of 39 schools in the newly annexed territory from the county to the city. It advocated that the planning and zoning function be a consolidated operation of both the city and the county and that the Fulton-DeKalb Hospital Authority and the Metropolitan Planning Commission continue to be jointly supported operations.

To protect the rights of the employees affected by the consolidation or curtailment of services and to assure the taxpayers that unnecessary positions would be eliminated, the commission recommended that the following specific policies be adopted: a complete transfer to new payrolls of the regular full time employees as of the date of consolidation or curtailment of the function in which they were occupied; protection of the seniority pension fund rights and other personal rights of the transferred employees; and assignment of the transferred employees to positions similar to those which they previously held. The commission recommended that a definite procedure be set up to determine the number of unnecessary positions and the termination of employees, provided the employer's right of dismissal for cause—inefficiency, incompetence, etc.—was not affected by it.

The commission also recommended that personnel administration in Atlanta and Fulton County be im-

proved by these governments taking the necessary steps to establish uniform pay and classification plans, standards of selection, employee rights and privileges, basic operating procedures and uniform pension plans.

To improve tax administration, area-wide appraisal of all property in both Atlanta and Fulton County was recommended. Also proposed was a physical merger of the boards of tax assessors offices of the city and county and the consolidation of the county offices of tax receiver and tax collector into an office of tax commissioner. It was further recommended that the several tax collection functions in Atlanta be consolidated into the office of the treasurer.

The third major proposal was a detailed procedure for putting the plan into operation. This included a joint performance committee, an advisory referendum on the plan, and three specific legal steps to put it into effect. The referendum was held on June 28, 1950, when the plan was overwhelmingly endorsed

by a vote of 23,927 to 6,761. In Atlanta the vote was 17,367 to 1,945 for endorsement and in the fourteen unincorporated suburban districts of Fulton to be annexed, 6,560 to 4,816. The legal steps dealt with getting the plan through the General Assembly and approved by the people.

The plan of improvement followed the proposed procedural steps throughout 1950 and 1951 and, with only a few minor changes made in the General Assembly, went into effect on January 1, 1952. It passed successfully the hurdles of the General Assembly, the polls and a legal fight by a vociferous minority. Many problems must still be worked out, such as the details of the fire department agreement and the dead animal collection service in unincorporated areas of Fulton County; and the fear of discrimination by the transferred county personnel must be alleviated. However, these are being worked out and they will be minimized and remedied "by good will and by a sincere desire on the part of public officials and citizens alike to make the plan work as it was designed to work."

Cities Urged to Reach Out

Annexation of outlying areas proposed as best way to keep suburban development on orderly, planned basis.

By BEN B. EHRLICHMAN*

THE change from public transportation to the use of private automobiles represents the power behind suburban development. This inexorable trend, which became clearly apparent in the early '20s, has rolled up such huge force as to endanger real estate values in the heart of our great cities and is causing a revolutionary shifting of tax sources to a dangerous degree. As the private automobile grew in number, the buying habits of the people commenced to change—a change imperceptible at first.

The important retail buyer is the housewife. A few years ago her shopping trip was an important event for the whole family. The children went along on the great adventure. There was nothing casual about it. The items to be purchased were planned in advance and the return trip on the street car or inter-urban was carefully timed.

Today, mother puts the clothes in the washing machine, slips into her car, drives to her favorite shopping center to buy perhaps a single small item—a head of lettuce, a loaf of bread. No advance planning — no

budgeting of time. The shopping expedition could be a daily or twice-a-day occurrence. She is home again within the hour, relaxed and with a sense of pleasure and satisfaction at the convenience, and perhaps with more purchases than she had intended.

Convenient parking space becomes one of the first considerations of the housewife in choosing her shopping district. She would rather travel several miles further for that convenience and, of course, free parking has an additional lure—a greater attraction than the dollars and cents saved.

By the late 1920s the changed buying habits had become sufficiently impressive to encourage architects and business planners to design shopping centers, and many astute businessmen commenced working on plans for outlying business districts in order to avoid the problems of haphazard development. The crack-up in the country's business structure, however, which started with the financial panic in 1929, stopped virtually all new sizable developments.

In the middle '30s sufficient recovery had come about to again warrant such planning. A few small projects were actually completed and many large ones were ready for financing when the world equilibrium was upset by Hitler and Mussolini. It was only after the close of the war in

*Mr. Ehrlichman, president of the United National Corporation and chairman of the board of United Pacific Insurance Company, is a member of the council of the National Municipal League and president of the Municipal League of Seattle and King County, Washington. This article is Mr. Ehrlichman's address at the National Conference on Government, Cincinnati, November 27, 1951.

1945 that sufficient funds for this purpose became available on reasonable terms.

Meanwhile, with the rapid increase in numbers of automobiles on our streets and with few planned shopping centers available to fulfill the growing need for this type of service, other problems arose of even greater importance than that of insufficient parking.

Highways By-pass Cities

The traffic increase in the center of our cities brought about a trend toward the building of highways by-passing our city centers. Today, we see traffic, which formerly flowed into the center of our cities to keep those centers alive, flowing in increasing proportions around, over or under our large cities, carrying car occupants to a suburban business center where they may buy with convenience and in leisure. Yes, I am convinced that the automobile is here to stay and that the trend toward suburban business districts is just commencing.

These suburban business developments, thus far, have with a few exceptions been hit-or-miss propositions. A fringe of stores on a main highway, an intersection for good retail locations, then additional retail units added to this center extending outward from the intersection. Every evil which goes along with a non-planned district is present. Traffic hazards are intensified, fire hazards, sanitation problems, and costly administration by municipal and county governments.

Municipalities at considerable expense create new access highways.

These highways are designed to carry the traffic from the center of town outward and possibly radially around the city.

Suddenly it dawned upon the municipalities that the highways designed to do this job have been ruined by the fringe business development. In other words, retail establishments have created such traffic congestion that a new kind of highway has been forced into existence—the limited access expressway. Unplanned suburban developments have wrecked the highways as far as their original purpose was concerned.

What of the future? Must we allow this destruction of our municipal wealth, as represented by our municipal highway system, to continue? It seems obvious to me that every possible effort should be made by municipal governments to recentralize suburban development. Instead of hit-or-miss intersections becoming suburban developments, every means should be taken to centralize them into a few large well planned centers and to stop the continued multiplication of highway business intersections.

If the planning commissions and governing bodies of municipalities would take a direct turn-about-face from the general attitude toward these suburban developments, they would still be able to accomplish this result. In almost every large city, there is one—or more—sizable shopping development at its fringe either projected or already under way.

Steps should be taken to en-

courage well planned suburban business districts. City utilities should be made available to them cheerfully and fairly. Access roads and directional signs should be eagerly and intelligently provided. Thus, alone, will they be able to stifle the fringe and crossroads developments which are creating such grave problems.

Accepting the point that municipal governments should provide services to encourage decentralization of cities, we are confronted with the question, what municipal government should do this? One choice is that the existing city government should extend its limits. It is only logical that these cities extend their services to take in these developments.

Another choice is to encourage the establishment of new municipal governments. It seems almost juvenile to discuss these two alternatives, for the question comes down to this, do we want two police chiefs, two fire chiefs, two city halls, two mayors—or only one?

City Must Extend Limits

The obvious answer is that existing municipal governments must extend their boundaries to annex the new areas in which suburban business development is taking place. They must reach out to take in these areas and to provide appropriate municipal services. Short-sighted city governments may say they do not care to do anything to assist decentralization of their cities. They do not wish to be parties to encourage suburban development. How many times in recent years have we heard this statement by city officials?

You will see it is very poor logic, if you think it through, for our cities are already providing many services without charge to people living beyond the city limits. It is only logical that these cities extend their limits to include those people in order to get their property on city tax rolls.

Experience has proved that, with the lapse of a little time, the tax income from the annexed areas is more than sufficient to pay for the municipal services provided and, furthermore, that the advantages to the outside property owners more than outweigh the additional taxes. Municipal services, such as water, lights, sewer, police and fire protection, and other facilities must be merchandised to those not now enjoying these services.

To summarize, let me point out the impossibility of stopping the trend toward suburban development. The automobile is largely responsible for this trend, and the automobile will be with us in increasing numbers.

Municipal governments should take every step possible to encourage recentralization of cities rather than to permit crossroads development that has and is ruining many of our existing highways.

Municipal governments should so merchandise their services to areas existing outside present city boundaries that such outlying areas are taken into the municipalities. Existing city governments can more economically provide the services required by these new areas than these

(Continued on page 223)

U. S. Governors 1940-1950

State reorganizations of past decade have brought to chief executive added prestige and real responsibility.

By SAMUEL R. SOLOMON*

IN A survey of "American Governors 1915-1930,"¹ made 21 years ago, this author noted the emergence of the state executive as the outstanding personality in state politics and administration. The article suggested that, with the continued movement for state administrative reform, the position of governor would continue to increase in political and social prestige and that the governor's mansion would beckon more invitingly than ever to leading professional and business men.

In a sequel study for the 1930-1940 decade,² John A. Perkins pointed to the contention made by some commentators in 1933 that "the states as vital units of government were finished, and 'that only the federal government could solve our state and national needs'." With the major interest focused on the national stage, he commented that "the American governors as the outstanding personalities in the states, like the states themselves, seemed for a time of secondary importance."

Dr. Perkins also noted, however,

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¹NATIONAL MUNICIPAL REVIEW, March 1931, page 152.

²The REVIEW, March 1940, page 178.

that the states' rights doctrine had subsequently been reasserted and he anticipated that the states would probably continue to function very much as they had in the past, with unabated interest in the governor as the focal interest of state politics. He concluded: "The composite picture of the last 178 governors . . . is a favorable one. They stand high in comparison with their predecessors. They outrank the average citizen in their states. Many of them have already gone on to further useful governmental service upon completion of their terms."

What can we say of the men who became chief executives of their states during the next ten years? Are they still the "outstanding personalities" in the states, and has the position of governor continued to increase in prestige and influence? The answer is a positive affirmative.

During the 1940-1950 decade, state reorganization progressed slowly but surely. In three states the term of governor was increased from two to four years and in New Jersey the three-year term was increased to four. Reorganizations usually gave increased administrative powers to the governor. To cite one example:³

In New Jersey, the revision commission first enunciated and the con-

³See "Price of a New Constitution," by James Kerney, Jr. The REVIEW, January 1952, page 14.

stitutional convention later adopted certain principles. First, the governor was given authority. He was made responsible for the various state departments and given authority to name their administrators, who form his cabinet. To focus attention on his responsibilities as the general manager of the state government, he was the only state official elected. All the other officials in the executive branch are his appointees. As a result of the new constitution we have for the first time cohesive, responsible administration of state government in New Jersey.

The 1940-1950 decade was highlighted also by the expanding growth and influence of such interstate organizations as the National Governors Conference and the Southern Governors Conference, which in 1948 exploded into the Dixiecrat movement and saw the nomination of two southern governors to oppose the regular Democratic candidacies of President Truman and Senator Barkley.

If the last decade could be stretched one more year, this resurgence of the states' rights movement was climaxed in 1950 by the return of ex-U. S. Senator, ex-Supreme Court Justice, ex-Secretary of State James F. Byrnes to campaign successfully for the governorship of South Carolina on a states' rights platform in opposition to policies of the national administration.

The 1940s also included such bizarre happenings as the case of "the three governors" in Georgia, and a flurry of "hill-billy" bands and candidates who literally sang their

way into the state capitol. But these were the exceptions rather than the rule. More often, the voters concentrated on the candidate rather than the campaign, frequently splitting tickets to pick the man of their choice. What caliber of men did they choose and how do they compare with their predecessors?

Where They Come From

Of the 161 governors of the 1940s, 45 were not native sons. Two of these were born abroad: John Moses of North Dakota in Norway and Julius Heil of Wisconsin in Germany. Two of the newer states, New Mexico and Wyoming, had governors all born in other states. Only nineteen chose their executives exclusively from native sons and even the proud state of Texas elected one "outsider," from Ohio.

The percentage of governors who have attended institutions of higher learning has gradually increased in the last 35 years. In the 1915-1930 period, 64 per cent had attended college, in the next decade 77 per cent had college training. In the 1940-1950 period, only twenty are listed as not having attended college, leaving 141, or almost 88 per cent, with some kind of collegiate schooling. Some 105 earned college degrees, the great majority of them in law. Forty earned two college degrees and five earned three. At least six were elected to Phi Beta Kappa.

Among the 36 who attended college but did not receive degrees were nine law students, two business college students and one medical student. Of those who did not at-

tend college, thirteen list themselves as having gone to public school, four to grade or common school and three to high school.

As previous surveys indicate, the majority of governors were lawyers by profession, but vocational classification is difficult because many have engaged in two or more occupations before their election as governor. The following classification is based on what appeared to be the major vocational interest of the men covered:

Lawyers	85
Educators	11
Newspaper publishers	5
Farmers	4
Bankers	3
Engineers	3
Insurance	3
Drug store owner	3
Advertising	2
Pharmacist	2
Leather business	2
Automobile agency	2
Oil producer	2
Career public official	2
Physician	2
Dentist	1
Accountant	1
Musician	1
Rancher	1
Editor	1
Treasurer	1
Mill company	1
Flour miller	1
Sales engineer	1
Tractor business	1
Cashier	1
Farm agent	1
Air transport	1
Naval officer	1
Shoe business	1
Lumber business	1
Electrical business	1
Marble business	1
Optical business	1
Railroader	1
Cotton exporter	1
Realtor	1
Public engineer	1

As in previous years, the 1940-1950 governor is a marrying man. Only eight of the 161 were bachelors at the time they moved into the governor's mansion; one of these, J. Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, later dictated a letter of proposal to his secretary, who thereupon typed a letter of acceptance. Only seventeen have had no children; the rest have families ranging from one to eight children.

Average Age Is 51

Since it still seems to take about twenty or more years of private and/or public experience to achieve the prominence necessary for election to the governorship, the average age of the state executive when inaugurated is 51, about what it was twenty years ago but with a tendency for younger men to be elected. As in the 1930-1940 survey, the record for being the oldest governor is still held by Lurin Dickinson of Michigan, who was 80 when inaugurated. Likewise, Harold Stassen still holds the youngest governor title, taking office at 31, although there were two who became governor at 36, two at 37, two at 38 and three at 39.

Summarizing the respective ages when inaugurated, ten of the men were in their thirties, 63 were in their forties, 57 in their fifties, 28 in their sixties, two in the seventies, and one in the eighties.

Many governors were born at a time which made them eligible for service in World War I and some for World War II. The number of veterans, therefore, is much larger than in previous decades; in fact, at least 78, or almost half, had some military experience before their elec-

tion. Most of them joined veterans' organizations, in some cases becoming post or state commanders. While it is difficult to evaluate the effect of military service as political appeal, having a war record certainly did not hurt these candidates with the millions of veteran voters. With the nineteen million men and women currently veterans, and with more to come, it is safe to assume that governors of the next twenty or thirty years will also include a high percentage of veterans.

Party Affiliation

Of the 161 men who held the governorship during the 1940s, 94, or 58 per cent, were Democrats and 67 were Republicans. Thus the Democrats maintained almost the same edge they had over the Republicans in the 1930s, when they held 60 per cent of the governorships. This contrasts with the practically even honors enjoyed by the two parties in the 1915-1930 period.

Fourteen states, including those in the solid south, elected Democratic governors exclusively,⁴ while nine states sent only Republicans to the state capitol.⁵ As previously noted, however, there is an increasing tendency to split tickets when it comes

to the governorship and it is no longer uncommon to have a governor of one party and the rest of the administration and/or the legislative majority representing the opposition. Some states like Connecticut, Idaho, Ohio and Massachusetts seem to have acquired the habit of alternating parties in successive gubernatorial campaigns.

Public Offices Held

As indicated below, the public and political offices held by governors-to-be represent a varied range of local, state and federal experience. Most of them received their apprenticeship in two or more offices, while only five were elected without previous political experience.

Since a large percentage of the governors were lawyers, it is natural to find many seeking a post with governmental law agencies. At least 35 had their first taste of public office in the county or city attorney's office and several skyrocketed into the governorship on the strength of the fame acquired as successful prosecutors. Another port of entree has been the legislature, with 25 members in the lower house and eleven in the senate. The city mayoralty has been the first stepping-stone for ten governors, while five won their first spurs as lieutenant governor. On the federal level, three served their first public apprenticeship as government attorneys, two as assistant U. S. district attorneys, while four entered public life by way of Congress.

Of the final public offices held before election as chief executive, that

⁴In 1950 Arizona, normally a Democratic state, elected the third Republican governor in its 39-year history when Howard Pyle defeated Mrs. Ana Frohmiller. Had she won Mrs. Frohmiller would have become the third woman governor in U. S. history.

⁵One of these states, Wisconsin, elected a Progressive, Orland Loomis, in 1942, but he died before taking office. Also Earl Warren of California was elected in 1946 on both the Republican and Democratic tickets.

of lieutenant governor holds top place with 25; the state legislature is second with 22 (senate, fifteen; lower house, seven); and state attorney general third with twelve. Others were judgeships, eleven; U. S. House of Representatives, seven; mayoralty, seven; secretary of state, five; U. S. Senate, three; U. S. district attorney, three.

While the lieutenant governorship appears the most popular stepping-stone, it is not necessarily the most positive. In many states this office possesses a political anonymity akin to that of the national vice presidency—pre-Barkley, that is—and unless the lieutenant governor can remain in the limelight by becoming chairman of an important statewide committee, project, etc., he may find the position a blind alley—unless, of course, the governor dies or resigns. At least eight of the 25 lieutenant governors mentioned above became governor via the latter route.⁶

The following table lists the public and political offices held by governors-to-be, classified by federal, state and local level.

Federal Government

House of Representatives	12
U. S. Senate	3
U. S. district attorney	6
Presidential elector	6
Internal Revenue Bureau	4
Assistant district attorney	3
Special assistant to district attorney	2
NRA	2

⁶To cite an unusual instance, Governor Dickinson, octogenarian from Michigan, was elected lieutenant governor seven times, but only succeeded to the governorship upon the death of Governor Fitzgerald.

WPA	2
Postmaster	2
Assistant secretary of navy	1
Undersecretary of interior	1
Special assistant to secretary of navy	1
Federal food administration	1
OPA administrator	1
Deputy director, OPA	1
Chairman, Economic Stabilization Board	1
Special counsel, AAA	1
Assistant to secretary of state	1
Chief, Foreign Economic Administration, Italy	1
War Department mission, Europe	1
Attorney, Social Security Board	1
Adviser, U. S. Delegation, UN	1
Appraiser, Federal Land Bank	1
Agricultural Credit Corporation	1
Referee in bankruptcy	1
Department of Agriculture	1
Farm Debt Administration	1
Delegate to UNESCO	1

State Government

Member, lower house	43
(Speaker	13
Page boy	2
Clerk	2
Committee clerk	3)
Member, state senate	35
(President or president pro tem	9)
Lieutenant governor	27
Attorney general	16
Bench	15
Secretary of state	8
Delegate, Democratic National Convention	6
Delegate, Republican National Convention	6
Assistant attorney general	5
Governor's counsel	5
Chairman, Republican state committee	4
Public Utility Commission	4
Liquor Control Commission	3
Democratic National Committee	2
Executive secretary, state Democratic committee	2
Delegate, state constitutional convention	2
Commissioner of agriculture	2

Assistant superintendent of education	2	County treasurer	1
State highway commissioner	2	School district assessor	1
Attorney, highway commission	2	City drain commissioner	1
Executive secretary to governor	2	Town treasurer	1
Railroad commission	2	City treasurer	1
Keynoter, state Democratic convention	2	Secretary to mayor	1
Republican National Committee	1	City water commission	1
Republican district chairman	1	City recorder	1
Special assistant to attorney general	1	County clerk	1
Commissioner of public Works	1	County surveyor	1
State rationing administration	1	County board of supervisors	1
Deputy commissioner of agriculture	1	County Republican committee	1
State board of education	1	Draft board	1
State school supervisor	1		
State planning board	1		
Inheritance tax collector	1		
Counsel, public service commission	1		
Board of state bar examiners	1		
Chairman, state corporation commission	1		
Chairman, interstate oil compact commission	1		
Attorney, public utility commission	1		
Attorney and secretary, RR commission	1		
State bridge inspector	1		
State university president	1		
State engineer	1		
Deputy engineer	1		
Legal assistant, power commission	1		
State treasurer	1		
Auditor general	1		
Adjutant general	1		
Chairman, state code commission	1		
Railroad tax commission	1		
Executive assistant to governor	1		
Secretary, state tax commission	1		

Reelection to Office

In two-year-term states the tendency still is to reelect the incumbent, 48 governors having won two terms (in at least two cases after one term out) and fourteen winning three terms. In the four-year states which do not forbid their governors to succeed themselves, six executives have been reelected to a second term and two, Governors Thomas E. Dewey of New York and Earl Warren of California, have won three terms. Governor Herbert H. Lehman is the only four-term governor in this period, but the first three of his elections were for two years.⁷

In states where the governor, elected for a four-year term, cannot succeed himself, at least three executives have been reelected after waiting the necessary term out of office. In New Jersey, which was the sole state with a three-year term forbidding its governors to succeed themselves, A. Harry Moore was the first to win three terms, in each case after one term out. Alfred E. Driscoll was the last three-year gov-

Local Government

Attorney (prosecuting, county, district, etc.)	29
Mayor	16
City attorney	15
Councilman	10
Superintendent of schools	9
Bench	6
Board of education	5
Sheriff	3
Deputy city attorney	2
Special counsel to city attorney	1
Town attorney	1

⁷Governor Lausche of Ohio has recently announced his candidacy for a fourth term; if he succeeds, he will be the first four-term winner in the state's history.

ernor (1947-1950). He was re-elected for four years under the 1947 constitution, which permits two successive terms with at least one term out before election for a third time.

The story seems to be that once the people like a governor, he can remain as chief executive almost indefinitely, as limited by the constitution, unless he chooses to try for federal or other offices. As indicated in previous studies, an ex-governor is usually a potential candidate for reelection, no matter how many years out in private or other public office. To cite New Jersey again, Governor Edge was first elected for the 1917-1920 gubernatorial term; was then elected to the U. S. Senate (1919-1925); was reelected for 1925-1931 but resigned from the Senate in 1929 to become ambassador to France (1929-1933). In 1943 he successfully campaigned for the New Jersey governorship after some 23 years out of that office.

Where They Go

The United States Senate still seems to be the favorite spot sought by governors with the exception, of course, of the presidency. At least 27 of the decade's executives went on to the national capitol and several others were defeated in campaigns for the Senate. In fact, that body seems well on its way to becoming an ex-governors' club; at least a fourth of the current Senate membership consists of former governors.

The cabinet is another attractive post and there are two ex-governors currently holding such positions, Secretary of Labor Maurice Tobin from Massachusetts and Attorney

General J. Howard McGrath from Rhode Island.

Ambassadorships have gone to three governors, while the foreign military and economic aid commitments occasioned by World War II have provided, and will no doubt continue to provide, opportunities. Governor Lehman resigned in the last month of his tenth year as New York's executive to head UNRRA, became a member of the Public Advisory Board, ECA for European Aid, and then, in 1949, was elected to the U. S. Senate and reelected to a full term in 1950.

Murray Van Wagoner of Michigan and Dwight P. Griswold of Nebraska were appointed to the Military Government in Germany. Mr. Griswold later became chief of the American Mission to Aid Greece and had as his deputy chief Robert L. Cochran, his predecessor as Nebraska's governor. The present administrator of the Civil Defense Administration is Millard F. Caldwell, governor of Florida from 1945 to 1949.

Harold Stassen resigned as governor of Minnesota in 1943 to enter the Navy, was a delegate to the UN Conference at San Francisco in 1945, a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination in 1948 and currently president of the University of Pennsylvania and a candidate for the 1952 Republican nomination. Another governor who served in the Navy during World War II was Arthur Langlie of Virginia; the latter went on active duty shortly after his term expired in 1945 and then was reelected to the governorship in 1949. Colgate Darden, Jr., whose

term as Virginia's executive expired in 1946, was appointed vice-chairman of the Navy's Civilian Advisory Committee in 1947 and later the same year became president of the University of Virginia.

Ellis Arnall, former governor of Georgia, (who figured in "the three governors" case) was recently appointed director of the Office of Price Stabilization.

And, of course, there were the presidential candidates, Dewey 1944 and 1948, and Thurmond 1948; and the vice presidential candidates, John W. Bricker 1944 and Earl Warren and Fielding Wright 1948. Governor Warren is campaigning for the 1952 Republican presidential nomination; Governor Adlai Stevenson of Illinois has been prominently mentioned as a possible candidate for the Democratic nomination, as has Senator Robert S. Kerr, former governor of Oklahoma.

Twenty-seven of the 161 governors are still incumbents, nine died in office and at least three have died since relinquishing the governorship. Others have only recently left office so that more can be expected of them politically in the future.

While the office of governor has provided a proving ground for federal office, as in previous years, the increased luster and prestige of the governorship is becoming more and

more attractive to federal office-holders, to senators, congressmen, administrators, ambassadors, etc., and, in the unique case of James F. Byrnes, even a former U. S. Supreme Court justice and secretary of state.

The state governorship has apparently become a shuttle-platform. It is not only a stepping-stone to federal office but also an office to which ex-governors and national office-holders may return, because they find the governorship more desirable or to point for higher federal or other posts or, as in the case of Mr. Byrnes, to provide a vantage point from which to scrutinize policies of the federal government.

In 1931 the author's study on the state executive concluded:

As the years pass, and more of the state governments are reorganized to correspond with the governor's new power and position in state politics, the governorship will in all probability become more and more a "stepping-stone to fame" and less and less a "toboggan to political oblivion." Indeed, governors of the future may well be satisfied with the fame attached to gubernatorial success.

The record of the state governors for the past twenty years seems, on the whole, to have warranted that estimate, and to justify one equally as optimistic, if not more so, for the executives of the next two or three decades.

News in Review

City, State and Nation . . .

Edited by H. M. Olmsted

Massachusetts Body Urges Legislative Changes

Suggests Ways of Reducing Law-making Branch's Work

HAVING made various reports on the executive branch, the Massachusetts Special Commission on the Structure of the State Government¹ has announced suggestions resulting from its studies of the legislative branch, in a 25-page memorandum. This was submitted not to the legislature but to the recently created Recess Commission on Legislative Procedure.

After praising four aspects of the Massachusetts legislative system—its joint committees, the right of free petition, public hearings for all bills and the reporting out of all bills—the commission suggested methods of reducing the volume of legislative work and improving legislative procedure.

Extension of greater home rule was urged as a means of eliminating much unnecessary and undesirable legislation. Public hearings on duplicate bills in successive sessions of the same legislature were decried. Consideration by one legislative house of bills defeated in the other house after adverse committee reports was deemed illogical; a bill favorably reported but defeated in the first house is not considered by the second. Action on these three points, together with installation of electric voting in the House of Representatives, was expected to enable shortening of sessions by several weeks.

The commission suggested establishment of a legislative council, which

could supervise or conduct legislative research, aid in correlating committee schedules and study the possibilities of reorganizing the committee system in the interests of better distribution of work among committees and legislators.

Suggestions were also made as to a simpler form of legislative budget and the printing of bills so as to show changes from existing legislation.

Kentucky Legislature Reduces Committees

At the start of its regular 1952 session the Kentucky House of Representatives reduced the number of standing committees from 70 to 44. It created a new committee on committees, consisting of the speaker, majority floor leader and majority caucus chairman, to appoint the members of all other standing committees, refer all bills to such committees and exercise control over employees of the House. The Senate has had a similar committee for several years.

Washington State Has Reorganization Committee

The Committee on State Government Organization, set up in Washington last fall by joint action of Governor Langlie and the legislative council, has decided upon a course of action looking toward concrete proposals for consideration by the 1953 legislature. The Washington State Taxpayers Association reports that the committee has established two major subcommittees to study:

1. The state government's fiscal and so-called "staff" functions—budget control, purchasing, personnel, accounting procedures, auditing controls, etc.
2. The basic pattern of state

¹See the REVIEW, October 1951, page 482.

government as a whole—whether the number of elective officials should be reduced, whether the state's several dozen boards, commissions, bureaus and committees can be consolidated for more efficient operations.

Each of these major subcommittees will name smaller groups to work on specified problems.

Subcommittees are to be guided by these general principles when they prepare their recommendations:

(1) Administrative authority, in so far as possible, should be integrated and unified; (2) major departments should be organized according to broad functional purposes; (3) single-headed departments are generally preferable for administrative work (for some purposes, boards, commissions and advisory councils may have their place); (4) Uniformity in intra-departmental organization should be achieved where feasible; (5) Accounting and post-auditing services should be separated, with accounting under the chief executive and post-auditing independent of the chief executive.

These decisions came after 23 state officials appeared before the committee, in a series of 60-minute sessions in a period of three days, to explain the functioning of their departments and to discuss the efficiency of state government.

Puerto Rico Constitution Overwhelmingly Approved

On March 3 citizens of Puerto Rico voted 373,418 to 82,473 to ratify the constitution recently drafted by a convention.

The constitution abolishes the power of Congress to repeal laws adopted in Puerto Rico, and takes from the president the power of appointing auditors and supreme court justices. The island's governor, already an elected official, will no longer supervise the

judiciary or have power to suspend the right of habeas corpus. He can proclaim martial law but the legislature can repeal it. The governor's veto can be over-ridden by the legislature. The president can still order armed forces to Puerto Rico in case of invasion or rebellion.

The structure of government provides for continuing local election of governor at large and a two-house legislature, each house of which is elected partly by districts and partly at large. The Senate has 27 members, two elected from each of eight senatorial districts, plus eleven at large; the Assembly has one member from each of 40 districts and eleven at large. By a novel provision, it is arranged that if more than two-thirds of the members of either house are elected from one political party or from a single ticket, as both are defined by law, the number of members shall be increased to provide for better representation of minorities by seating candidates having the next highest votes, thus enlarging the size of the house concerned.¹

Legislators serve for four years and the governor for four years. The governor appoints secretaries as heads of departments and succession to the governorship is by the secretary of state.

A unified judicial system is provided, headed by a supreme court whose members shall be appointed by the governor subject to confirmation by the Senate. Other courts may be created and abolished by the legislative assembly and presumably can be made elective.

No home rule for cities is provided.

Amendments may be proposed by concurrent resolution of not less than two-thirds of the total membership of both houses and must be submitted at a separate election unless carried in

¹See also page 209, this issue.

the houses by a three-fourths vote, in which case a referendum can be held at a general election. Not more than three amendments can be submitted at one time. Ratification is by a majority of the electors voting thereon.

The constitutional convention supplied itself with copies of the National Municipal League's *Model State Constitution*.

The constitution was submitted to Congress on February 12 by Hon. A Fernos-Isern, resident commissioner of Puerto Rico, in advance of the popular vote of March 3 and requires passage by Congress.

Merit System Now Required by Ten State Constitutions

Alabama has become the tenth state to provide for the merit system in civil service as a constitutional requirement. The voters of that state on December 11 approved a merit system amendment to the state constitution by a vote of almost two to one. Chief provisions of the amendment are that appointments and promotions shall be made according to merit, fitness and efficiency determined, so far as practicable, by competitive examination; and that the legislature shall provide adequate financial support for a positive program of personnel management. Civil service status acquired by employees under existing statutes will not be affected by the amendment.

The other states with constitutional civil service provisions are New York, Kansas, Colorado, Ohio, California, Georgia, Michigan, New Jersey and Missouri. Many other states have adopted the merit system by statute.

Courts Uphold Redevelopment Laws

The way is being cleared for more cities to get urban redevelopment pro-

grams under way as a growing number of state courts uphold the constitutionality of urban redevelopment laws.

Out of four state supreme court rulings since January 1951 on the constitutionality of such laws three have been favorable, bringing to seven the number of states in which the high courts have upheld the laws, according to the National Association of Housing Officials. Meanwhile, test cases are planned or are pending in four other states—Ohio, Rhode Island, Florida and Minnesota.

The Michigan Supreme Court recently upheld the power of Detroit to condemn slum property and sell it to private builders for redevelopment. A decision by the Illinois Supreme Court affirmed an earlier decision upholding constitutionality of the state's 1947 blighted areas redevelopment law. Last year, the Tennessee Supreme Court upheld on all counts the constitutionality of legislation empowering Tennessee housing authorities to condemn slum areas and, after clearance, to sell or lease them to private developers.

The Texas Supreme Court refused last year to review a court of appeals ruling that housing authorities have no power under the state's housing law to acquire and clear slum areas for sale to private developers as contemplated under the 1949 housing act.

Urban redevelopment laws were held constitutional in Pennsylvania and Alabama in 1950, in New Jersey in 1948 and in New York in 1943.

Michigan Anti-strike Law Constitutional

The so-called Hutchinson act in Michigan, under which the city of Detroit sought an injunction restraining employees of the city-owned transit system from striking, was held constitutional by the Michigan Supreme Court in January. The court declared

that the act, which applies only to public employees, was applicable to the city's transit employees. The act provides that an employee, by striking, terminates his appointment or employment, restricts the public employer in regard to rehiring such employee, and provides for mediation on application of either party.

Virginia Employees under Social Security

The Virginia legislature early in February adopted laws permitting nearly 70,000 employees of the state and some local governments to be covered by the Federal Social Security program, according to the Civil Service Assembly. The state's retirement system is concurrently abolished and its funds are used to supplement the federal system. Local governments without retirement programs were given freedom to decide whether to come under the system; however, if no action has been taken by April 1 their employees are automatically covered.

Oregon and Washington Make Civil Defense Compact

An interstate civil defense compact has been signed by Governors McKay of Oregon and Langlie of Washington, providing for exchange of emergency supplies, rescue equipment and personnel. It establishes an operational basis for coordination of the civil defense organizations of the two states.

Provincial-municipal Committee in Manitoba

Studies are in progress in the province of Manitoba, Canada, by the Joint Provincial-municipal Committee, set up last year by the provincial government after requests from the Union of Manitoba Municipalities and the Manitoba Urban Association. A thorough review of all aspects of the relations between

the provincial and local governments was sought.

Projects for study include the relative size and rate of increase of expenditures by the federal, provincial and municipal governments; analysis of municipal and provincial expenditures in Manitoba; sources of provincial and municipal revenues, viewed from the standpoints of equity and efficiency of collection; and the basis of grants currently being paid by the province to local governments.

Reorganization of Primaries Proposed in New York Bill

A bill providing for drastic improvements in New York City's primary system was introduced in the legislature (Senate 2712) by Senator Seymour Halpern, Republican. Drafted by a committee of the Citizens Union of New York City, after a three-year study, the bill embodies all the principles of the National Municipal League's *Model Direct Primary Election System* of 1951. No action was taken by the 1952 legislature before it closed. The bill will be circulated among party leaders for their study during the next year and reintroduced at the 1953 session.

The bill provides for simplification of party structures in New York City, compelling the discarding of the preposterous city committee of over 38,000 members in the Democratic party and the corresponding one of about 13,000 members in the Republican party. The county segments of those committees for the five counties within New York City are likewise hopelessly unwieldy and so are many of those in the State Senate and Assembly districts where they run above 1,000 members in some cases.¹

¹See "How Tammany Keeps Its Power," by Justin N. Feldman, the REVIEW, July 1950.

The Citizens Union bill makes the assembly district leaders and women co-leaders directly elective in each assembly district and they serve also as members of the city and county committees with weighted votes corresponding to the prior party vote for governor in their respective districts.

For the less-than-county representatives, state senators, assemblymen and certain judges, party committees are made up of a captain and a co-captain elected from each voting precinct and voting without weighting. So voters at primary elections will have to select for party officers only an assembly district leader and co-leader and an election district captain and co-captain instead of the long lists of county committeemen now elected by precincts, who, in most counties, choose the district leaders.

The committees, thus consisting of the active party managers, are authorized to designate candidates for public office and for their own successors as party committeemen. The names of these designees are to be printed first on the primary ballot under each office followed by the words "designated by party committee."

The "designating certificates" of a party committee shall be filed not later than the eighth Tuesday preceding the primary and contesting designating petitions can be filed thereafter within the next three weeks. Accordingly, responsibility for selection of party nominees and of successors in party office is put on the party managers instead of on hit-and-run conventions in the case of judges or on unregulated meetings of the county committeemen of each constituency, most of whom never attend. The party managers submit designees under conditions which leave time for insurgency to arise and start a contest if the managers' designations inspire rebellion.

This principle, first advocated by Charles Evans Hughes when he was governor of New York, is untried to this day; Rhode Island alone goes part way in its primary law by letting candidates "endorsed" by the party managers be identified as such on the primary ballots.

R. S. C.

Council-manager Plan Developments

The borough council of **Schuylkill Haven, Pennsylvania**, (1950 population 6,597) passed an ordinance on March 10 establishing the council-manager plan.

Holden, Massachusetts, (1950 population 5,975) adopted the council-manager plan on March 3 by a vote of 1,207 to 991. The question on the ballot was adoption of a town charter passed by the 1951 legislature.

The town of **Phillips, Maine**, (1,088) adopted the council-manager plan at its town meeting in March.

The small communities of **Bonwood** and **Ducktown, Tennessee**, have incorporated as cities under state enabling legislation providing for the manager plan.

Bedham, Massachusetts, voting on March 3, defeated a proposal to adopt a council-manager charter. **Amesbury** defeated a similar proposal as did **Stoneham**.

A proposal to make it easier for **Massachusetts** towns to have managers has been presented to the state legislature as a Republican measure. It would establish a "standard" form of manager administration within the present framework of town government.

The **Warwick, Rhode Island**, Municipal League has been circulating petitions for election of a charter commission in November.

The **Newport, Rhode Island**, Charter

Commission held an organization meeting on February 11 and voted seven to two to draft a council-manager charter. Seven of the nine members had announced themselves in favor of the manager plan prior to the election.

On March 25 voters of **Takoma Park, Maryland**, defeated a proposal to adopt the council-manager plan, 824 to 227.

The Chamber of Commerce and various civic clubs of **Moundville, Virginia**, are interested in securing the council-manager plan for their city.

Voters of **Columbia, South Carolina**, on March 25, defeated a proposal to abandon the council-manager plan. The vote was 5,535 to 1,647. The vote on September 6, 1949, for adoption was 1,222 to 650.

A council-manager charter drafted by the charter commission of **Acworth, Georgia**, was defeated at a recent election. The mayor vigorously opposed it.

The voters of **North Miami, Florida**, will ballot on April 15 on election of a nine-man charter commission, which will decide whether to draft a council-manager charter, adopt the commission plan or continue the mayor-council plan as at present.

Petitions have been circulated in **Marietta, Ohio**, for a vote at the next regular election on adopting the manager plan.

A group of citizens in **Rockford, Illinois**, is planning to begin an educational campaign for the council-manager plan. In **Quincy, Illinois**, the Chamber of Commerce is actively promoting the idea. Other **Illinois** communities showing interest in the plan include **Wilmington** and **Elmhurst**.

A campaign for council-manager government is under way in **Kirksville, Missouri**. Petitions for an election on the question have been circulated.

Voters of **Dalhart, Texas**, on Febru-

ary 23, sustained the manager plan 945 to 380.

Petitions for a vote on the council-manager plan have been circulated in **Carlsbad, New Mexico**, and have been submitted to the city council. It is expected that a vote will be held at the April municipal election.

Des Moines Adds In-service Training

Des Moines, Iowa, which adopted the council-manager form of government in 1950, has recently instituted two training programs for various city employees.

A sixteen-weeks course for municipal officials in management positions covers techniques of municipal administration. Attendance is based on the city manager's invitation to department, division, agency or office heads. In addition to lectures by authorities in the field of public administration, there are panel discussions led by prominent officials in city government, private industry and professional organizations.

The Des Moines police department is conducting a course in human relations in police administration, intended to promote better understanding of police problems and to improve the supervisory skills of the city's police supervisors—enrollment being limited to supervisors, appointed by the chief of police. Classes are being held at Drake University and lectures are delivered by regular college faculty plus outside experts in police administration. The course is given in two sections so that men working on all shifts may attend.

Two New Jersey Communities Merge

Citizens of Vineland borough and Landis township in southern New Jersey voted by large majorities at a special election on February 5 to form

a single city, which will have the largest area—64 square miles—of any in the state. Vineland is a square-mile municipality of 8,100 population, surrounded by Landis township with 22,000 population. The unofficial figures showed votes of 2,797 to 185 in Vineland and 6,429 to 699 in Landis for the merger.

A special election will be held on May 13 to select a mayor and five members of a city council, to take office in July.

Florida City Doubles Area by Merger

The city of Fernandina, Florida, has recently doubled its area and added 1,200 to its population by merging with it the town of Fernandina Beach and intervening territory. The merger was made possible by an act of the 1951 state legislature and approval by popular vote in all three areas.

Cities Cooperate for Sewage Disposal

The adjoining cities of Bristol, Tennessee, and Bristol, Virginia, have nearly completed a sewage disposal plant to be administered by Bristol, Tennessee, under a joint agreement made in 1949. Two Oregon cities—Tumwater and Olympia—have recently entered into a similar agreement to construct a joint sewage disposal system, according to the American Public Works Association.

Steps have been taken toward the construction of trunk sewers, ocean outfall, and treatment plant by seven sanitation districts which will serve all but two cities in Orange County, California. Late in 1951 California's East Bay Municipal Utility District began the collection and treatment of sewage from the outfalls of six East Bay cities: Albany, Alameda, Berkeley, Emeryville, Oakland and Piedmont. In

Kentucky, the cities of Covington, Newport, Bellevue, Dayton, Fort Thomas, Ludlow, Bromley and about eight smaller places have formed a metropolitan sewer district.

Inter-American Municipal Congress in Montevideo

The Inter-American Municipal Organization (headquarters in Havana, Cuba) has announced that the fourth meeting of the Inter-American Congress of Municipalities will be held in Montevideo, Uruguay, in the first two weeks of February 1953. The agenda will include discussions of planning, low-cost housing and other problems of urban areas.

U. S. Mayor's Conference Meets in New York

The twentieth anniversary annual conference of the U. S. Conference of Mayors will be held in New York City at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, May 14-17. Registration on the 14th will be followed by a late afternoon reception. Business sessions, luncheons and social events will occur on the 15th, 16th and 17th.

Civil Service Assembly Holds Regional Meetings

The Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada has announced four regional conferences in April and May.

The western conference will be held at the Hotel Sainte Claire in San Jose, California, April 3-5; the southern conference at the Roosevelt Hotel in New Orleans, April 24-26; the central conference at the Hotel Sherman in Chicago, April 28-30; and the eastern conference at the Mount Royal Hotel, Montreal, Canada. The annual conference of the assembly will be held in New York at the Hotel New Yorker, October 20-23.

County and Township Edited by Elwyn A. Mauck

Cuyahoga County Gets Administrative Officer

First County in State to Provide Expert Management

THE county commissioners of Cuyahoga County (Cleveland), Ohio, have created the post of county administrative officer and promoted the budget officer to it. He will receive an annual salary of \$13,500.

Because of the limitations of state law, the position had to be set up as an assistant to the clerk of the board of county commissioners to be "referred to and known as the county administrative officer." The resolution of the county commissioners provided for the assignment of a number of specific duties to this officer to be appointed by the board and to serve at its pleasure.

The general function of the administrative officer will be to assist the board of county commissioners in carrying out its managerial and administrative duties. State laws do not permit the delegation to him of authority reposed in the board of county commissioners or in any other county officers or commissions. His work will be in the nature of that of an administrative assistant to the board.

Despite the confining provisions of state law, Cuyahoga County now has an executive head who, with the full support of the county commissioners and with the cooperation of the other elected officers such as the auditor, treasurer, coroner, engineer, etc., can be a potent integrating force in strengthening the management of the county government.

The Citizens League of Cleveland comments:

"County services have been steadily and inevitably expanding. The cost of activities directly administered by the board of county commissioners has risen from \$1,256,560 in 1930 to \$13,474,532 in 1952, and the commissioners have in recent years taken on such additional responsibilities as the construction and operation of a hospital for the chronic ill, the planning and operation of a county airport, the administration of veterans housing, civilian defense and welfare and relief.

"Furthermore, the commissioners are expected to take the leadership in meeting the need for more adequate and progressive county-wide control of municipal services. In addition, they must adopt an annual budget and appropriate funds and authorize purchases for all county departments.

"These are full-time administrative obligations which cannot be discharged by a part-time board without proper staff assistance. The new officer will aid and assist the board in the administrative supervision and control of budgeting, purchasing and contracts, the welfare department, the dog warden, the department of buildings, the office of sanitary engineer, the custodian of buildings, airports, veterans housing and civilian defense. He will have the right to confer with the heads of said departments, to receive reports from them regarding operating problems, and to report to the county commissioners concerning said departments, and he will assist the board in administering, enforcing and carrying out its policies and resolutions.

"Cuyahoga County for the first time in its history has an executive officer and is the first county in the state to have such an officer. This evidence of the intent of the county officials to re-

organize in the direction of tighter control and improved county management will result in greater public confidence in the county as the logical agency to handle metropolitan government functions."

Another Virginia County Adopts Manager Plan

The county commissioners of Elizabeth City County, Virginia, on March 12, adopted an ordinance giving the county "executive secretary" the full administrative powers of a county manager. This action makes the county the sixth in Virginia with the manager plan. The others are Albermarle, Arlington, Fairfax, Henrico and Warwick. Under the county's special charter, adopted in 1942, the executive secretary, appointed by the county commissioners, has only such authority as the commissioners may grant.

Civic Group in Maricopa County Wants Manager Plan

The Better Government Association of Maricopa County (Phoenix), Arizona, has been organized "to seek drastic revision of Maricopa County government." Approximately 45 business and civic leaders from all parts of the county met in an organizing meeting and elected officers. Recurrent incidents of waste, graft and scandal in county government have prompted the reform drive.

The four-point program adopted by the organizing committee is as follows:

1. Expansion of the board of supervisors from three to five members, all to be elected at large. The supervisors now are elected from three districts. Proposed legislation to make this change has been introduced into the state legislature.

2. Nonpartisan election of supervisors to eliminate "control of the supervisors by a party boss" and

"patronage control of appointments throughout county government."

3. Installation of the county manager plan, under which a trained man would be hired to run the administrative affairs of the county without interference from the supervisors.

4. Adoption of a civil service plan for all county employees.

The present movement for county improvement parallels the Phoenix Charter Government Committee's drive which led to improvements in the council-manager system three years ago. A member of the organizing group commented that the city had "set a wonderful precedent and demonstrated that we can have clean, efficient government if we work for it."

Arlington County to Vote on Manager's Tenure

The Virginia legislature, on February 27, passed a bill providing for a vote in Arlington County on the tenure and powers of the county's manager. Two questions will appear on the November ballot: (1) Shall the county manager be appointed for an indefinite term, subject to removal at any time by the county board? (2) Shall the heads of county departments be appointed by the county manager?

At the present time the manager is appointed for a one-year term, which is renewed automatically unless he is notified by the board of his removal 60 days in advance. Heads of departments, except police, are now appointed by the county board.

Oneida County Reorganization Receives Support

The reorganization plan for Oneida County, New York, proposed by a special committee of 25,¹ has gained editorial support in local newspapers.

¹See the REVIEW, March 1952, page 154.

The Rome *Sentinel* recently commented in part:

"The committee points out that in the 268 years since the formation of the first county in this state little has been done to alter the basic structure of county government.

"To strengthen county government and rid it of the inefficiency of an archaic system faced with the complexity of governmental responsibilities, the state in 1935 passed a county home rule amendment to provide optional forms of county government.

"Only three counties, . . . Monroe, Nassau and Westchester, . . . have availed themselves of the opportunity of such self-government.

"The Oneida County Survey Committee places the responsibility upon the citizens in these words: 'Since counties now have the power to change their form of government to conform with modern and efficient procedures, the responsibility for retaining at the present time a governmental structure designed for eighteenth century service lies squarely with the electors of each county and their representatives on the board of supervisors.'"

Louisville Paper Urges County Consolidation

A feature article in a recent issue of the Louisville, Kentucky, *Courier-Journal* emphasizes the need to reduce the number of counties in the state. Reasons for the present number of counties, says the paper, have ceased to be valid and the people can no longer afford to support this outmoded relic of the past. It proposes that the present 120 counties be reduced to 49, but concludes: "Perhaps a good idea would be for the General Assembly next year to authorize the governor to appoint a regrouping commission which, with expert advisors, would make a study and recommendations for

some such scheme as this, in whole or in part."

California Cities Continue Study of County Relations

The directors of the League of California Cities, meeting recently in Los Angeles, continued their probe of city-county relations. They have requested the Senate and Assembly interim committees investigating city-county relations to include in their studies the possibility of legislation requiring incorporation or annexation whenever an unincorporated community reaches a certain standard of urban development. Furthermore, the directors agreed that favorable league action on a county sales tax was contingent upon more general agreement on an over-all city-county program. In order to indicate a sales tax program which the league probably could support, the directors endorsed a stabilization program embodying a uniform 4 per cent sales tax throughout California.

According to *Western City*, the following general and specific items constitute the program of the League of California Cities. The league will:

1. Continue to work with the Senate and Assembly interim committees and in every other way carry out vigorously the league program to eliminate the use of general county funds for municipal-type service to unincorporated urban areas;

2. Prepare and distribute a report setting forth the legal problems which arise in connection with incorporation and the way to handle them, together with a positive statement of the advantages of incorporation;

3. Review carefully the law of annexation in California and in other states and other factors affecting annexation, not only in order to prepare a league report designed to be helpful in connection with annexation

but also as a basis for consideration of desirable changes in the annexation law;

4. Make a comprehensive survey of services provided outside of cities by the cities, the bases on which they are provided and the implications of such practices;

5. By a sampling process, attempt to measure the extent to which municipal services and facilities are used within the city by persons living outside;

6. Cause a comprehensive study to be made of subdivision regulation both inside and outside cities not only to achieve a sounder policy within the cities but also to point up the effect of lack of or inadequate subdivision regulation in unincorporated areas on development within the cities; and

7. Cause a study to be made of building standards within and outside the cities.

Cook County Government is Studied

The complex government of Cook County, Illinois, is brought under scrutiny in a recent publication of the Cook County Council of the League of Women Voters.¹ Cook County, with a 1950 population of over 4,500,000, is the largest in the United States. The number of governments operating in the area is also large, totaling 375 active taxing areas according to the report. To operate these many governments, the voters of Chicago elect approximately 125 officials while county residents outside the city generally elect more than 70.

¹*This is Cook County*, by Ruth E. Baker. Cook County Council of the League of Women Voters, Chicago 1951. 76 pages, 35 cents.

The task of describing such a complex governmental structure is not an easy one. This pamphlet, however, presents an outline which is understandable, although necessarily somewhat complicated. Emphasis is placed upon the county government but there is discussion also of the municipalities and special districts in order to provide the reader with a complete picture of local government.

The booklet first describes the principal elected offices of the county including the board of commissioners, president of the board, county clerk and numerous others. These descriptions are followed by briefer sketches of appointive offices, boards and commissions.

There is also a description of the sources of county revenues, agencies engaged in revenue collections and the techniques of controlling the expenditures of county funds. The collectors in Cook County, incidentally, are still paid by the fee system, their compensation being 2 per cent of the first \$200,000 collected.

The booklet describes the various functions performed by the county government such as law enforcement, health, welfare, road construction and maintenance, sanitation, education and recreation. Finally, in the summary, the distribution of functions among the various governments in the county and the areas of joint responsibility are discussed concisely.

This is Cook County is profusely illustrated with sketches, maps and diagrams. It contains many explanatory and summary tables. In brief it is a booklet which should be of interest not only to residents of Cook County but to all persons interested in the condition of local government in the United States.

Proportional Representation*Edited by George H. Hallett, Jr.
and Wm. Redin Woodward**(This department is successor to the Proportional Representation Review)***Puerto Rico Gets
Modified P. R. System*****New Basic Law Provides
Minority Representation***

THE new constitution of the commonwealth of Puerto Rico, approved by constitutional convention on February 6 and adopted by the voters on March 3,¹ makes two provisions for minority representation in the commonwealth legislature. Like the German election system, these provisions begin with a district system and superimpose a proportionalizing process. The Puerto Rican system, however, limits to a greater extent the scope of the proportionalizing arrangement. Also it provides two such features, one on the basis of votes for individual candidates and one on the basis of party tickets.

The legislators chosen on the district system number sixteen senators (two from each of eight districts) and 40 representatives (one from each of 40 districts). There is also provision for the concurrent election at large of eleven senators and eleven representatives, with each voter permitted to vote for only one candidate for each house. This is in effect the single non-transferable vote, used on a wider scale in Japan.² It provides minority representation, although not necessarily on a proportional basis, and is to be distinguished from the block vote election at large in which the voter may vote for as many candidates as there are places to be filled, a system

which usually provides no minority representation.

In Puerto Rico the number of senators and representatives at large may be increased, in order further to proportionalize the election results, if more than two-thirds of the members of either house are elected from one political party or from a single ticket. If in such case the preponderant party or ticket obtained less than two-thirds of the votes cast for the office of governor, the number of seats at large is to be increased by declaring elected a sufficient number of candidates of the minority party or parties to bring its total to nine in the Senate or seventeen in the House of Representatives, as the case may be.

If the preponderant party or ticket obtained more than two-thirds of the votes cast for the office of governor, additional minority candidates, not more than nine in the Senate or seventeen in the House of Representatives, are to be declared elected in number sufficient to bring representation of minority parties as nearly as possible up to the proportion of votes cast for such party in the governorship election.

Such additional candidates elected at large are to be selected first from the non-elected members of at-large tickets, and then from district tickets in the order of votes obtained (proportion of votes in the case of district candidates). Apportionment among minority parties is to be in proportion to votes cast in the election of governor. When one minority party attains representation equal to or greater than its proportion of votes in the governorship election, it may not be apportioned any more legislators until the representation established for each of the

¹See page 199, this issue.²See the REVIEW, September 1951, page 434.

other minority parties under these provisions shall have been completed.

The use of the vote cast for the office of governor, instead of votes cast for candidates for legislative office, as a yardstick of proportionality may reflect an effort to avoid excessive political divergence between the legislative and executive branches of government, which are independent under the Puerto Rican constitution in accord with the usual United States plan.

Massachusetts Legislators Snipe at P. R.

Bills to repeal P. R. in the cities of Medford, Quincy and Cambridge have been introduced in the Massachusetts legislature. Since they appear to have been submitted under a Massachusetts procedure for entering a bill upon the petition of any private citizen, it is not clear whether any appreciable backing either by legislators or by the public exists for these measures. Representative Michael F. Skerry of Medford, upon receiving criticism for filing such a bill, explained that he had merely acted to permit the private petitioners to exercise their constitutional right to have their measure presented.

On the other hand, the Committee on Cities prepared a composite P. R. repeal bill and reported it favorably on February 22. Every proposed measure must be reported out of committee in some form, with or without recommendation, under Massachusetts procedure.

The bills would provide for a referendum at the next election. Supporters of P. R. point out that the system can be dropped by any of these cities without legislation in the same manner that it was adopted: by placing the issue on the ballot through petitions carrying the requisite number of signatures. They feel that the legislation gives opponents of P. R. an unfair advantage,

allowing them to secure a referendum without the necessity of collecting signatures. In this connection, the House, by the narrow margin of three votes, reduced the number of signatures necessary to place the question of retaining P. R. on the ballot from 10 to 5 per cent of the registered voters.

"The politicians in Massachusetts who have been trying to do away with the P. R. method of voting are ready to launch their biggest campaign," announced the December *News Letter* of the Worcester Citizens Plan E Association. "Our greatest effort this next year must be directed toward saving P. R.," it commented. The *News Letter* outlines the advantages of P. R.:

It is the most democratic method yet devised for picking candidates for office. It eliminates primaries and their costs. It reduces ward rivalries. In elections of municipal size it gives representation to minorities but guarantees majority rule. It makes each voter's ballot potent, assuring the election of one of his choices.

A copy of the Worcester association's color film strip on P. R. was recently sent to Germany for education purposes at the request of the U. S. State Department on behalf of the High Commissioner of Germany.

Certain Worcester members of the legislature have introduced a bill to require full election figures to be made public on a ward and precinct basis in Worcester elections. Although other Plan E cities have made such figures available, the applicable law forbids it. The drafters of the Plan E law regarded it as inconsistent with the at-large nature of a P. R. election but most proportionalists consider it legitimate information, of understandable interest to all candidates and analyzers of elections. It is required in most

(Continued on page 218)

New York City Meets Budget Crisis

State Legislature and Local Officials Reach Agreement

THE usual intricate and stormy negotiations between New York City's Democratic government and the Republican state administration and legislative majority apparently came to an end the third week in March when city and state leaders reached agreement on a taxation program designed to raise the estimated \$200,000,000 needed to balance the city's 1952-53 budget. The program includes temporary expedients to meet the current problem and a longer range proposal for a constitutional amendment to raise the city's real estate tax levy.

With the real estate tax presently limited by the constitution to 2 per cent of the average assessed valuation of the preceding five years, the city had originally proposed that authority be granted for an addition of $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1 per cent to be levied by the individual counties (of which there are five) comprising the city. Opposition to this was vociferous, especially in Queens where a considerable part of the residential property is owner-occupied, and the compromise adopted is for enactment by the 1952 legislature of a constitutional amendment to raise the city limit to $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. This amendment must be reenacted by the 1953 legislature and then submitted to statewide referendum.

To meet the immediate problem for 1952-53, the city sales tax, which was raised to 3 per cent for the period July 1, 1950, to June 30, 1952, was reenacted at the 3 per cent permissive rate instead of being allowed to lapse

to 2 per cent. This will retain about \$60,000,000 of revenues needed to make up the approximately \$200,000,000 required to balance the 1952-53 budget under existing revenue authorizations.

In addition, the city may impose a whole series of "nuisance" taxes, some of which it presently has the power to use but which have not been levied. They include an additional 1 cent per pack tax on cigarettes, a \$60 per year fee for on-street parking privileges, an increase in liquor package store licenses, an auto use tax of \$5 to \$10 per car, and a 15 per cent admissions tax to race tracks within the city limits.

Finally, also to meet the budget crisis, the city has been authorized by the legislature to borrow \$100,000,000 to cover potential deficits in the next three years. This would apparently be done by issuing three-year notes, which could then be retired from real estate taxes levied outside the 2 per cent rate limit, which does not apply to taxes levied for debt service.

The state's first offer to the city for remedying the crisis had been to go to the core of the matter by demanding that the transit system, which has been estimated to involve a \$67,500,000 deficit for 1952-53, be placed on a self-supporting basis through fare increases and improved management to effect operating economies. The present ten-cent fare, one of the few fares remaining at this level among the larger United States cities, fails by an estimated 3.5 to 4 cents per ride of covering actual cost of operating the system, and it was estimated that for 1952-53 the deficit would equal about 5 cents per ride.

The state urged that the transit system be placed under the jurisdiction of the Triborough Bridge and Tunnel

Authority, the revenues from parking meters and parking facilities to provide it with additional revenues sufficient to cushion the transit operation. This setup was violently opposed by the spokesmen for the Transport Workers Union and was categorically turned down also by Robert Moses, chairman of the authority, who serves also as the city's park commissioner and construction coordinator.

While the outlook for authority operation of the subways was evidently doomed by the city-legislative agreement in the closing days of the legislature, the proposal emphasized the need for a comprehensive revamping of the city's policy on transit system operation. The *New York Times* on March 6, in an analysis of transit costs, noted that New York City was one of the few places remaining where the ten-cent ride was in effect. Of 25 large cities which it compared, fifteen had fares of fifteen cents and four had fares above fifteen cents. Few transit systems, either publicly or privately owned, are not involved in financial difficulties as a result of the postwar rise in costs and decline in traffic, but only in Boston, where the basic fare is fifteen cents, is the problem of the magnitude of New York's.

Roanoke Voters Veto Assessment Reform

Going to the polls in an advisory referendum in February, voters of Roanoke, Virginia, decisively defeated two proposals to amend the city charter. One, to provide an annual revision of assessed valuations instead of a quadrennial revaluation, would have made the city board of assessors a permanent body. It was defeated 5,965 to 1,570.

Even more emphatic was the vote against a proposal to remove the present \$2.50 per \$100 tax rate limit from

the city charter. It was snowed under, 6,692 to 867.

At the same election, the voters approved a suggested increase in the number of city councilmen from five to seven, 3,986 to 3,655, and the city council has begun preparations to submit proposals to the state legislature for a charter amendment to that end.

New York Truck Tax Is Upheld

New York State's weight-distance truck tax, enacted last year but not yet applied because of litigation, was upheld March 10, 1952, by the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court in Albany. The tax, applicable to New York and out-of-state trucks weighing 18,000 pounds or more, moves on a sliding scale from 6/10 of a cent to 2.4 cents per mile. Exempt from the tax are trucks used exclusively for local deliveries, trucks operated only in the "commercial zone" around a city, buses, mail trucks, all government trucks and farm trucks.

Purchasing Procedures Revised by Cities

In an attempt to encourage competitive bidding for municipal business during the current material shortage, cities are streamlining procedures for bid deposits required of sellers. A recent survey of 33 U. S. cities by the Municipal Finance Officers Association shows that nine cities no longer require bidders to enclose deposits with bid quotations while seven other cities have hiked the amount of purchase for which formal bids must be obtained. This latter action, the association observed, has been prompted in part by the fact that the rise in cost of materials because of inflation makes bids necessary on smaller quantity orders.

Under bid deposit procedures, firms bidding for business must accompany

their bid with a certified check, cash or bond as a guarantee that they will accept the order or contract if awarded it. The amount of the bid deposits required ranged from 2 per cent of the bid in Baltimore, Jacksonville and Minneapolis to the full amount of the contract in Boston.

Typical of the revised procedure is that of Phoenix. There, effective the first of the year, bid deposits are no longer required of Arizona firms submitting bids of less than \$5,000. Previously bid deposits were required on all bids over \$500.

In Milwaukee firms bidding for city business must fill out pre-qualification forms on which they must list the type of business they are engaged in and the names of their officers. This form serves as an authorization to banks and other organizations to furnish financial and credit information to the city purchasing agent. In addition the prospective bidder must furnish a financial statement and references to other agencies he has done business with.

For many purchases Milwaukee stipulates only a nominal deposit to assure that the city is dealing with a responsible firm, and the city purchasing agency may decide the amount of bid bond or may eliminate it entirely. No performance bonds are required for purchases up to \$5,000 except on term agreements or when the city has had no previous experience with the contractor.

Six Cities of Alaska Collect Sales Taxes

At least six Alaskan cities have adopted sales taxes in recent years, reports the Municipal Finance Officers Association. Many of Alaska's resi-

dents go north only for the summer construction and fishing season and, as a result, pay no taxes there. With adoption of a sales tax, however, the cities have been able to require the migrant population to pay a portion of the bill for city services.

The cities levying sales taxes are Ketchikan, Juneau, Sitka, Wrangel, Nome and Fairbanks. These cities have experienced phenomenal growth in the last decade and population increases have far outstripped utility installations. Fairbanks, for example, has grown 62.8 per cent—from a pre-war population of 3,455 to 5,625 according to 1950 population figures.

Offer Fourth Big Block of Housing Authority Bonds

The fourth large block of housing authority bonds to be issued under the 1950 amendments to the federal housing law was scheduled for April 15, with the offering of bonds of 73 local housing authorities aggregating \$167,093,000. Heretofore, some \$467,786,000 of the bonds have been issued: \$171,300,000 on July 17, 1951; \$162,700,000 on October 23, 1951; and \$133,786,000 on January 15, 1952.

The bonds have been taken at prices progressively more favorable to the local housing authorities as their security became better known to investors. Under the 1950 law, the federal government makes unconditional agreements with the local housing authorities covering grants sufficient, with other authority income, to pay the bonds and interest. The arrangement has been described as coming as close to a federal guarantee as it is possible to come without actually using the term.

Citizen Action Edited by Elsie S. Parker

How to Conduct a Successful Campaign

Peoria Activities Provide Pattern for Civic Action

THE campaign to secure council-manager government for Peoria, second Illinois city to adopt the plan since passage of enabling legislation in 1951, is a challenge to citizens everywhere to "go and do likewise." This story is based on a report prepared by Bernard B. Burford, manager of the Public Affairs Council of the Peoria Association of Commerce, a leader in the campaign.

Aside from a certain amount of preliminary planning by a few people, the campaign was a whirlwind affair occupying only twenty days. Interest in the council-manager form for Peoria had followed a statewide conference on the subject, arranged by the State Chamber of Commerce and held in that city. Led by the Peoria Association of Commerce, circulation of petitions to place the question on the ballot began on Friday evening, November 24. By Monday evening, the 26th, 180 volunteers had secured 4,265 signatures. These were accepted by the county judge as valid and the election was set for January 22.

During December a citizens committee was set up and tentative plans laid. In addition to the Association of Commerce the following organizations joined in as endorsing groups: Women's Civic Federation, Junior Chamber of Commerce, League of Women Voters, Council of Churches, Association of University Women, Y.W.C.A., Business and Professional Women's Club and the Methodist Church Board of Trustees. Except for labor groups,

which were either neutral or against the manager plan, the committee was a cross-section of the community.

During December a question-and-answer brochure, *Shall the City of Peoria, Illinois, Adopt the Managerial Form of Government*, was prepared by Mr. Burford and mailed to some 3,000 members of the Association of Commerce. It was used extensively by campaign speakers.

Headquarters were opened in the Hotel Jefferson on January 2, with but one paid employee, a stenographer. Four of the committee's members gave full time to the campaign: Joseph C. Gasperich, chairman; Charles C. Schlink, campaign manager; Byron DeHaan, publicity manager; and Mr. Burford. Other members of a committee of 30 also gave considerable of their time.

As reported by Mr. Burford, activities shaped up in this way:

Funds for the campaign were raised through letters sent to 2,500 people and from coupons inserted in newspaper advertising.

The speakers bureau of 30 members set a new record for Peoria, addressing 142 organizations in a two-week period.

The publicity man continually fed stories to the two local newspapers. Both were in favor of council-manager government and did a great deal on their own. They published articles on experiences in other cities and used cartoons, editorials and letters to the editor. One carried a column on how Peorians felt about manager government, with photographs of the persons interviewed, and the other published comments by local people who had formerly lived in council-manager communities.

An advertising agency was hired

which assigned a man full time to the campaign. This agency helped on copy for advertisements and their layout and gave assistance on brochures, posters, radio spot announcements, etc.

In addition to spot announcements, the committee bought radio time on the five local stations.

The committee's brochure, *Mess or Management*, was mailed to every home in the city.

A leaflet of the National Municipal League, *City Employees and the Manager Plan*, went to all city employees and its *Labor Unions and the Council-Manager Plan* was mailed to a thousand labor union members. The League's *Story of the Council-Manager Plan* and *Facts About the Council-Manager Plan* were distributed at meetings.

All Voters Reached

Over 31,000 post cards were mailed to every home with a registered voter. The addressing was done by 70 women in about two days. In addition to women from the sponsoring organizations, assistance was given by the Newcomers' Club, the Entre Nous Club and the Junior League.

Some 600 window display cards were distributed.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce invited Mayor William Kemp of Kansas City, Missouri, as its founder's day banquet speaker. His remarks did much to counteract the story of Kansas City circulated by the opposition and received good coverage by newspapers and radio stations.

Seven of the eleven wards had captains who did a fine job of organization. These wards had their own car pools to take voters to the polls. In addition, there was a car pool manned by the Junior Chamber of Commerce, which answered over 1,300 telephone calls and dispatched 90 cars with volunteer drivers who carried over 2,600 people to the polls.

The day before the election 50 volunteer women called every voter in Peoria urging them to get out and vote. In most cases they urged a "yes" vote.

Over 200 volunteers served as poll watchers and checkers at all 137 election precincts.

The "Get Out the Vote" parade of the Jaycees was called off because of bad weather. There was a terrific sleet storm the night before election and on election day the streets were like glass. Even so, the voters cast the largest vote ever recorded in a special election, 15,872 to 7,095.

Despite an opposition which became somewhat vicious at times, the campaign for the manager plan was kept on a high level, reports Mr. Burford. "All in all," he comments, "the campaign was an example of wonderful cooperation with hundreds of volunteer workers. . . . At the same time we realize that our job is only half done and the Citizens Committee will stay organized to the extent of interesting qualified individuals to run for the jobs of mayor and councilmen."

Citizens and Schools Work for Better Communities

Public schools and public-spirited citizens feature a two-way road of civic action. There are the activities of the good citizens who strive to improve the school systems in their communities, and there are the public school systems which strive to awaken the civic conscience of their pupils. In the first category, among many, falls the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools.

The "Citizens Assembly on Education," third annual conference of the National Citizens Commission for the Public Schools, was held in St. Louis, January 25 and 26, to "make the best information on school improvement available to the greatest number of

participants." Sessions discussed The Commission and Its Program, Schools Are News, Citizens Organize for Better Schools, School Boards—Democracy in Action, Citizens Study the School Program, National Organizations Work for Better Schools. At the dinner on January 25 speakers included George Gallup, public opinion statistician; Mrs. Eugene Meyer, journalist and social worker; Leo Perlis, labor leader; and Charles Allen Thomas, industrialist and scientist. At the second day's dinner representatives of some 50 national organizations discussed further methods of cooperation at the national level to enlist local unit support for school improvement.

Support Taxes for Schools

Ten of New Jersey's largest and most active statewide organizations believe the state should assume a larger share of the costs of its school system, reports the New Jersey Citizens Tax Study Foundation. Only two of the twelve groups to which the foundation submitted a questionnaire failed to express strong approval of increased state aid for education. To get the money for this and other programs eight groups favor, while one opposes, a personal income tax; eight favor, four oppose, a general sales tax exempting food and medicine; six groups favor, three oppose, a corporate income tax; and nine favor, none oppose, a mileage tax on heavy trucks.

The state organizations questioned included the League of Women Voters, Bankers Association, State Council CIO, Farm Bureau, State Grange, Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, State League of Municipalities, Education Association, State Conference of the National Council of Jewish Women, Association of Township Committeemen,

Exempt Firemen's Association and State Chapter of the American Veterans' Committee. The Manufacturers Association also replied, but felt that "until the overwhelming federal burdens are reduced, there should be no increased burdens of taxes levied either at state or local levels."

The Stephenson Community School Service Program, sponsored by the public schools and the Stephenson Community Coordinating Council, representing the mid-county area of Menominee County, Michigan, has issued a report covering its fifth year. Included also is a resume of activities for the entire five-year period. The report gives an excellent account of the part the Stephenson public school system and the program have played in securing constructive citizen participation in community affairs.

The organization works generally through study committees on such problems as health, religion, community services, farm and land use, education, recreation, and home and family living. It was designed by "local people five years ago as a mechanism to help themselves improve their quality of living." It is difficult to evaluate the results, says the report, "since many of the most valuable improvements are intangible."

The Indiana State Chamber of Commerce is making available to Indiana educators, at special rates, its 1951-52 revised and enlarged edition of *Here Is Your Indiana Government*. Previous editions, reports the chamber, have been used by more than 350 Indiana high schools and colleges.

A Chart on Michigan State Government, "designed to give students an over-all picture," has been prepared by the University of Michigan's Institute of Public Administration for distribution to superintendents and princi-

pals of Michigan high schools. The charts are offered at ten cents per copy for less than 50 copies, eight cents for more.

Good Government Day, or Student Government Day, as it will be known henceforth, held under the auspices of the Massachusetts State Department of Education, was scheduled for March 14. High school boys and girls, elected by their fellow students, assumed the roles of senators, representatives, governor, etc., meeting at the State House in Boston. Since the legislature provides no funds for the program, the department has again sought the aid of civic organizations. For the past three years the "day" has been planned largely by the Massachusetts Civic League, which has prepared and distributed some 5,000 copies of *Your Massachusetts Government* for student use. The league is continuing its assistance this year.

Student bodies of fourteen universities and colleges in Oregon will participate in a mock national party convention on May 10. More than two hundred delegates are expected to attend the sessions at Willamette University.

The American Legion Post at Big Stone Gap, Virginia, will again sponsor a Youth Government Day in that community—the second event of this nature. High school and town officials will cooperate.

"How a Bill Becomes a Law" is the center spread attraction of the March 1951 issue of the *Journal* of the National Education Association. Tiny blue footsteps trace the course of the bill, led by its sponsor, from its introduction, to committee hearings, to the floor of the house and senate, to rules committee, finally to the White House. The spread is well illustrated with pen and ink drawings.

'Citizenship Day'

By joint resolution of Congress, the former "I Am an American Day" is now designated "Citizenship Day,"¹ and the date for its celebration has been changed from the third Sunday in May to September 17, anniversary of the signing of the Constitution. In this connection the seventh annual National Conference on Citizenship, sponsored by the Office of the Attorney General and the National Education Association, will be held September 17-19 in Washington, D. C.

* * *

Newspaper Gets Award

The 1951 Polk Memorial Award for outstanding reporting and "continued militancy in behalf of civic betterment" has been awarded to the *Herald Statesman* of Yonkers, New York. Oxie Reichler, long a civic leader in his community, is editor. The award, conferred by Long Island University and its journalism faculty, memorializes George Polk, one of America's distinguished newspapermen, who was slain in Greece in the line of duty.

* * *

Coffee and Tea

Telephoners' teas and block workers' coffees were part of the program of Citizens Action, good government organization of Grand Rapids, in its campaign to get out the vote for its candidates at the city election in February.

* * *

Conferences

The eighth annual Institute of Community Leadership of the New York State Citizens' Council will be held June 25-26 at Cazenovia Junior College, Cazenovia, New York.

The Council of National Organizations, arranged by the Adult Education Association of the U. S. A., held its organization meeting in Washington

¹See page 181, this issue.

February 22 and 23. Orientation and buzz sessions, panels on vital questions, and work groups marked the meetings.

Community Services in Adult Education of Indiana and Purdue Universities, in cooperation with the Indiana Association for Adult Education, will hold its fifth annual meeting on April 17-18 at Bloomington.

The National Citizens Conference on Planning and Resources, sponsored by the American Planning and Civic Association, will meet in Louisville, Kentucky, May 18-21. The principal theme will be "The Great Water Controversies and the Best Solutions for the City, State and Nation." Another matter for discussion is "Current Problems of Metropolitan Growth and Dispersal and Perennial Need for Citizen Action."

* * *

Recent Reports

Inventory of Municipal League Accomplishments from 1945-52 and Basic Services Rendered to Community (three pages), issued by the Municipal League of Seattle and King County, is an impressive array of civic endeavor.

The Annual Report of George H. Palmer, Executive Secretary of the Hamilton County (Cincinnati) Good Government League, was presented at the league's February meeting. The league has been active on numerous fronts. It has held several public meetings over the past year and completed the 150th program on its weekly television series, "Cincinnati Town Meeting of the Air." Its representatives have attended all important meetings of the Cincinnati city council, the county commissioners and the board of education. A number of standing committees are active.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION

(Continued from page 210)
American P.R. provisions, including those of the *Model City Charter* of the National Municipal League.

Southwest German State Elects by P. R.

Election of a constituent assembly in the newly organized Southwest German state of the West German Federal Republic, under a modified form of P. R., resulted in a distinct victory for the two-party regime which governs the federal republic under Prime Minister Konrad Adenauer. It reversed the trend by which the Social Democratic party had registered considerable gains in the same area in the 1950 elections.

The Christian Democratic party obtained 36 per cent of the vote and its allies, the Free Democrats, 18 per cent. Together they obtained 73 of the 121 seats in the state assembly. Their opposition, the Social Democrats, had 28 per cent of the votes and received 38 seats. No seats were won by the Communists, who had 4.3 per cent of the votes, or by the Socialist Reichs party, which had 3.9 per cent of the votes in the area in which it put up candidates. A refugee organization polled 9 per cent of the votes and obtained the remaining ten seats.

The election system used in Germany provides for election of a certain number by single-member districts, rounding out the results by a party list form of P. R. applied at large, with a requirement of a 5 per cent poll for any party to participate in the P. R. stage of the election.¹

Compared with the 1950 federal parliament elections in most of the same area, the present results show a gain of 3 per cent in popular vote by the Christian Democrats and a loss of 3 per cent by the Social Democrats. The policy of these parties on the rearmament issue was prominently featured in the campaign.

¹See the REVIEW, June 1949, page 298.

Researcher's Digest *Edited by John E. Bebout*

Bureau Mission Is to Promote True Economy

Courage Needed to Advocate Spending for Future Saving

EDITOR'S NOTE.—This article consists of the major part of the talk by ERIC HARDY, director of the Citizens Research Institute of Canada, in the session on Financing Cities Today at the National Conference on Government, Cincinnati, November 28, 1951.

VOLUNTARY agencies are organized for the specific purpose of increasing efficiency and economy in the administration of public services. Our job is often thought of as an organized effort to keep taxes down. Yet we are surely expected to do more than this. Unless we are to work for intelligent savings, we have no need for a research staff at all. Anyone can make a plea to hold the line on taxes. Supporters can always be found for such a rallying cry.

Heavy emphasis is usually placed on combating waste and extravagance in civic services and I don't question the need for it. The job of municipal research workers is to select and promote those savings which are compatible with true economies in the long run.

It is always harder for public departments than for private enterprise to justify spending a dollar now that will save two dollars later on. Municipalities must concentrate much attention on an annual budget, and in the province of Ontario the emphasis on short-term financing is made greater because many municipalities still cling to the one-year term for members of councils and school boards. It encourages our representatives to push off any expenditure which is distasteful

and can be postponed and let next year's members worry about it. But this general attitude is even more common. Municipalities have usually found it easier to spend money on men than machines, to hire a lot of cheap help rather than a few good men, to neglect regular maintenance in favor of sporadic renovations.

In these times there are particular obstacles in the way of intelligent budgeting. In this period of rising costs, the legitimate expense of municipal services is bound to go up along with everything else. Unfortunately, in Canadian municipalities, the local revenues are less buoyant than the civic operating costs. Canadian cities and towns which were practising sane economies before the war are certainly hard pressed to expand their budgets to the extent required today.

Here is an example. At the request of a council member, Toronto's works commissioner has just released a report on the back-log of curb and sidewalk repairs still standing from depression and war days. This is an approach our agency has been advocating for quite some time. The commissioner's estimate was that, six years after the end of hostilities, the city must spend \$1,250,000 on this essential work in order to catch up.

Another neglected adjustment has been in the salaries of municipal and school employees. Taking Toronto again: Until this year, the salaries of teachers were not raised anything like the amount required to offset the effects of inflation on their earnings. Meanwhile, increases had been put through for school improvements which were much less essential. The board of education failed to recognize that a good teacher can do a reason-

able job in a very plain building, whereas damage to the caliber of the teaching staff will harm an educational program in spite of the most elaborate facilities.

Another factor which has encouraged misdirected spending recently is the steady increase in grants to municipalities by the provinces. Many of the new grants are earmarked for special purposes and are conditional on a proportionate expenditure from local funds. This means that the grant can hardly be turned down even though the money drawn from local taxes could be spent on something much more urgent.

Where grants have been given without strings attached, there has still been a tendency for funds to be used unwisely. The current demand for social and welfare services seems almost insatiable. And pressure is heavy to put such items ahead of necessary maintenance of physical facilities—services to property which are the more basic responsibility of the municipal authorities.

Neglect Not Justified

The attitude in a number of Canadian centers has been that some temporary neglect of proper maintenance is justified in a time of continuing inflation. Piecing and patching is the most that gets done. I believe, however, that there are two strong arguments against such a philosophy.

First, the physical plant which provides essential services like water supply, sewage disposal, main traffic routes and public transportation facilities, needs to be kept in top condition if we are to be prepared against the unhappy eventuality of war.

Second, a strong case can be made for keeping parks, boulevards and public squares in good order. The argument here is most compelling in the

larger metropolitan centers. If we allow these facilities to become run down, there is an automatic repercussion on property values. We may be able to restore the parks to good condition later on but damage to private property values may have marred the character of the neighborhood permanently. Poor park maintenance encourages an exodus from the built-up areas of our great cities. It can be partly responsible for deficit areas which do not even pay their way in taxes.

In the newer sections of urban municipalities, there is a similar problem. The pressure on the council is to push ahead rapidly with sewers and water mains, with new schools and with paved streets, curbs and sidewalks. It is an expensive program.

Actually, in the newer sections, residents could do for a time without some of these facilities. In the initial stages of development, it is much more essential that land be set aside to provide the open spaces and public building sites which will be crucial later on. If the land is all gobbled up in private uses, it may take a fabulous price to buy it back and clear it when it is needed. This is one reason why a sufficient outlay for planning is a municipal expenditure of first importance. The cost of good planning is always modest in relation to future benefits. And yet it seems so hard to get an adequate amount for such purposes into the budget.

As municipal researchers, what we have to do these days is to investigate, analyze and report in detail on the proper priorities for municipal budgeting. The good sense of such reports and recommendations is not always easy to sell to our own governing boards, let alone to elected representatives and to the public. The reason I say this is that such reports must

encourage certain increased spending—although they should stress as well the ways in which money can be found by holding back on some new projects. But, if the job is difficult, it is equally a challenge to our best efforts. And it will pay off in genuine efficiency and constructive economies in the long run.

Research Pamphlets and Articles

Accounting

Improving Accounting Procedures: Pinedale, Wyoming. Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, 1952. 1 pp.

Budgets

An Analysis of the Proposed New Jersey State Budget 1952-53. Trenton, New Jersey Taxpayers Association, *It's Your Business*, February 1952. 10 pp.

Governor Dewey Proposes 1952-53 Appropriations of \$1,104 Million—Plans Would Double State Budget in Postwar Period. Albany, Citizens Public Expenditure Survey, *New York State Taxpayer*, February 1952. 3 pp.

Increasing State Costs Show Need for Better Budget Procedure. The Rising Cost of Maryland's State Government (parts 1 and 2). The State's Proposed Budget for 1953 (parts 1, 2 and 3). Baltimore 2, Commission on Governmental Efficiency and Economy, *Your Tax Dollar*, January and February, 1952. 2, 2, 2, 2, 2 and 3 pp. respectively.

Child Welfare

Kentucky Youth Problems: Delinquency, Child Labor and Adoptions. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1951. 71 pp.

Constitutions

Constitutional Revision by a Restricted Convention. Minneapolis, University of Minnesota, Minnesota Law Review Foundation, *Minnesota Law Review*, February 1951. 15 pp. \$1.

Council-Manager Plan

Council-Manager Plan. Toronto 5, Citizens Research Institute of Canada, *Effective Government*, January 17, 1952. 5 pp.

Pennsylvania Manager Ordinances.

By Joseph A. James. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration*, December 1951 and January 1952. 2 and 1 pp. respectively.

Savings Through the Manager Plan in Quakertown. Philadelphia 4, University of Pennsylvania, Associated Institutes of Pennsylvania Universities, *Municipal Administration*, January 1952. 1 p.

County Government

Administrative Procedures for the Clerks of Wisconsin Counties. Second Institute—1951. Madison, University of Wisconsin, University Extension Division, 1951. Various pages.

Proposed Law Offers County Executive Plan. Syracuse 2, Governmental Research Bureau, *Your Government*, February 29, 1952. 4 pp.

Fire

Woonsocket to Have 100% More Firemen Than Average City. Woonsocket (Rhode Island), Taxpayers Association, *Your Business*, January 1952. 3 pp.

Home Rule

Home Rule Law Puts Premium on Non-voting. Hartford 3, Connecticut Public Expenditure Council, *Connecticut Taxpayers News*, January-February, 1952. 3 pp.

Housing

The Influences of Federal, State and Local Legislation on Residential Building in the Flint Metropolitan Area. By Tom Dinell. Flint, University of Michigan, Institute of Human Adjustment, 1951. 84 pp.

Labor

Administration of Kansas Labor Laws. By Howard Hallman. Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government*, December 15, 1951. 1 p.

Lands and Buildings

Improvement in Lands and Buildings. The League Reports on a Service Job for a City Department. Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P. E. L. Newsletter*, February 1952. 6 pp.

Licensing

Licensing by Washington Cities—Including Licensing Power of the State of Washington and Counties Thereof. Seattle, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, in cooperation with Association of Washington Cities, 1951. 157 pp.

Local Legislation

How 1951 Legislation Affects Boston. Boston 8, Municipal Research Bureau, *Bulletin*, January 31, 1952. 6 pp.

Merit System

The Case for a Merit System for New Mexico. Santa Fe, Taxpayers Association of New Mexico, *Know Your Government*, February 5, 1952. 2 pp.

Municipal Government

Municipal Organization for the City. Toronto 5, Bureau of Municipal Research, *Civic Affairs*, February 8, 1952. 5 pp.

Municipal Officials

Appointment and Removal of Officials of Washington Cities. By Ernest H. Campbell and Warren A. Bishop. Seattle 5, University of Washington, Bureau of Governmental Research and Services, in cooperation with the Association of Washington Cities, 1951. 16 pp. \$1.

Permanent Registration

Permanent Personal Registration. Schenectady 5 (New York), Bureau of Municipal Research, *Research Brevities*, February 20, 1952. 3 pp.

Police

Police Standards, Conditions of Employment, and Compensation in North Carolina. Compiled by Donald B. Hayman. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina, Institute of Government, January 1952. 43 pp. Tables.

Public Welfare

End Welfare Secrecy—How S 403 Would Do It! Brockton, Massachusetts, Brockton Taxpayers Association, *Your Tax Facts*, January 31, 1952. 2 pp.

Wyoming State Institutions—State Legislative Appropriations for the Bienniums of 1939-41 Through 1951-53—Expenditures 1949-51. Cheyenne, Wyoming Taxpayers Association, 1952. 17 pp.

Research

Opportunities for Federally Sponsored Social Science Research. By Herbert H. Rosenberg and Erin Hubbert. Syracuse, Syracuse University, Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs, 1951. 52 pp.

Sabotage

Sabotage and Its Prevention During Wartime. (Includes comprehensive legal and bibliographical references.) By Dorothy C. Tompkins. Berkeley 4, University of California, Bureau of Public Administration, 1951. 53 pp. \$1.

State Aid

State Aid to Local Governments in Utah. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report*, February 1952. 4 pp.

State Government

Handbook of New Jersey State Government. Prepared by Bureau of Government Research of Rutgers University. New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1952. 99 pp. \$1.

The Office of Secretary of State in Utah. Salt Lake City 1, Utah Foundation, *Research Report*, January 1952. 3 pp.

State Reorganization

Administrative Reorganization in Louisiana. By Robert H. Weaver. Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University, Bureau of Government Research, 1951. 78 pp.

Debt Administration. State-Local Fiscal Relations. Education: Textbook Selection. Staff Reports to Committee on Functions and Resources of State Government. Frankfort, Kentucky Legislative Research Commission, 1952. 9, 63 and 35 pp. respectively. Tables.

The Little Hoover Commission. Is Better Government Possible? Santa Fe, Taxpayers' Association of New Mexico, *New Mexico Tax Bulletin*, December 1951 and January 1952. 5 and 4 pp. respectively.

Streets and Highways

Analysis of State Highway Finance. Houston, Tax Research Association of Houston and Harris County, 1952. 7 pp.

Financing New Jersey Highways. Newark 2, New Jersey Citizens Tax Study Foundation, 1951. 26 pp.

Taxation and Finance

Another Round of Taxes — The League Reviews Pittsburgh's Budget. Pittsburgh 22, Pennsylvania Economy League, Western Division, *P.E.L. Newsletter*, December 1951. 11 pp.

Official Tax Rates (in Mills) Levied for the Purposes of the State of Ohio, County of Hamilton, Hamilton County Park Board, Cincinnati School District, City of Cincinnati, As Applied to the Taxpayers of Cincinnati for the Years 1926 to 1951 Inclusive. Cincinnati 2, Bureau of Governmental Research, 1951. 2 pp.

Review of 1951 and Preview of 1952 Finances of New York City. New York 7, Citizens Budget Commission, 1952. 6 pp.

State Financial Aid to Local Governments. By Howard W. Hallman.

Lawrence, University of Kansas, Bureau of Government Research, *Your Government*, January 15, 1952. 4 pp.

State Taxes and Aids. Aids and Shared Taxes. Madison 3, Wisconsin Taxpayers Alliance, *Wisconsin Taxpayer*, February 1952. 4 and 3 pp. respectively.

CITIES URGED TO REACH OUT

(Continued from page 189)

required services may be provided through any other means. Intelligent city governments can help to plan our decentralized cities of the future with the result that:

1. A minimum investment in new city services will provide adequate facilities to take care of the newly established centers.

2. Real estate values and property values in these new centers will be stabilized with the result that large losses in uneconomical property development will be largely eliminated.

3. The new suburban centers will be designed to provide the American housewife and the American businessman with the most modern facilities to shop in comfort and to do business in a sound and orderly way.

The American people residing in our modern cities are intelligent enough to demand that our cities develop in the orderly manner that I have outlined. They will force this type of development by patronizing these large regional centers that are now being proposed and built throughout the population centers of our country.

Books in Review

Europe Between Democracy and Anarchy. By Ferdinand A. Hermens. Notre Dame, Indiana, University of Notre Dame Press, 1951. vii, 291 pp. \$4.

Professor Hermens is an author with an *idée fixe*. He is convinced that a particular electoral method, the system of proportional representation, is responsible for most, if indeed not almost all, of the faults of the post-war governments in Europe; in addition, he casts pessimistic glances at Israel, Japan and India.

In this survey he is concerned with emphasizing "positive democracy" (with which he associates plurality voting systems) in contrast to "negative democracy" (with which he associates proportional voting). He finds his model for positive democracy in the constitutional patterns of the United States and, even more explicitly, of England and the commonwealths of Canada, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa; the models for negative democracy are found wherever he finds majority voting has failed to receive full recognition, and these include France, Italy, Germany—in fact the whole range of European governments.

Most students of democracy will agree that the constitutional history of the United States and of the British Commonwealth presents an impressive body of evidence that "democracy can exist" and that "freedom and authority can be effectively combined." Most will agree, too, that the history of European governments provides less favorable data. But to argue that the central explanation of this contrast is to be found in differences in voting systems is an oversimplification which fails to persuade even a sympathetic reader.

The author realizes this fact himself when he concedes in his Preface, as if

in afterthought, that "the impression may arise that this little volume is based upon a monistic interpretation where, in reality, a plurality of factors is involved"; he then goes on to say that he is now working on "a balanced treatment of all the basic conditions affecting democracy." It is just this balanced treatment of all the factors—constitutional, cultural, historical and traditional, social and economic—which is absent from the present study. And thoughtful readers will want, in the meantime, to suspend judgment upon the claim that contrasts between two voting systems provide the central explanation, or even one of the most important explanations, for the differences between successful and unsuccessful efforts to develop effective democratic government. Successful democracy would seem, from all we now know, to rest upon no such slender reed.

On the narrower issue of the virtues and defects of proportional representation, the system of voting against which Professor Hermens addresses his strictures, this volume provides a rich mine of factual data. But the interpretations of the data seem strenuously partisan: wherever governments with proportional representation are confronted by difficulties, the difficulties are largely attributed to the voting system; wherever such governments are found reasonably satisfactory, their well-being is ascribed to other causes and grave future difficulties are anticipated. The result is that the opportunity is missed for a balanced treatment of voting systems in their relation to constitutional arrangements for democratic government.

All those who share with Professor Hermens his strong aversion to dictatorship, anarchy and political extremism, as well as his earnest con-

cerns with the improvement of constitutional democracy, will join this reviewer in the hope that his projected study of all the basic conditions affecting democracy will provide a significant part of that balanced answer, which we all seek, to the threat of totalitarianism in all its forms. The present volume misses that mark.

WALLACE S. SAYRE
New York City College

The Jeffersonians—A Study in Administrative History 1801-1829. By Leonard D. White. New York, The Macmillan Company, 1951. xiv, 572 pp. \$6.

A sequel to this talented author's *The Federalists*, relating with lively charm how the new constitution of the young nation creaked into action under its expanding loads and unforeseeable problems in respect to administration.

City and County Home Rule in Texas. By John P. Keith. Austin, University of Texas, Institute of Public Affairs, 1951. 176 pp. \$2.

A thorough and well managed account of the subject and of the Texas experience, with commentary leading to improvement, particularly in respect to the existing futile county home rule constitutional provision and enabling act. For cities the home rule "amendment has shown a remarkable flexibility and growth; whereas the serpentine county provision has effectively blocked the fulfillment of the purpose for which it was established."

A Report on Boards and Commissions in Council-manager Cities with Particular Reference to Des Moines. By Corbett Long. (Report prepared for the City Council.) Des Moines, Iowa, Office of the City Manager, 1952. 41 pp. Charts.

A survey of half the council-manager

cities of over 50,000 population, demonstrating that Des Moines, with 24 boards in its administrative chart, is out of line with practice elsewhere and proposing clearing up the clutter by repeal of obsolete state laws and city ordinances.

A Book of Civic Definitions. New York, Foundation for Citizen Education, 1952. 64 pp. Single copies, 35 cents; 10 or more, 25 cents. (Apply the foundation, 62 East 80th Street, New York City.)

This pamphlet, first publication of the foundation, is an original effort to reduce political jargon and legal Latin to colloquial English which laity can understand and use: e.g. exempt class, point preference, service record rating, absentee voting, county committeemen, designation, central registration, debenture, *per stirpes*—etc.—400 of them!

Additional Books and Pamphlets

(See also Researcher's Digest and other departments)

Authorities

Pennsylvania Municipal Authorities. 1951 Directory. Northampton, Pennsylvania Municipal Authorities Association, 1951. 56 pp. \$2.

Business and Industry

The Art of Administration. By Ordway Tead. New York, McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1951. xvii, 223 pp. \$3.75.

Willow Run. A Study of Industrialization and Cultural Inadequacy. By Lowell Juillard Carr and James Edson Stermer. New York 16, Harper & Brothers, 1952. xxii, 406 pp. \$5.

Directories

Officials of Washington Cities. Olympia, Washington, Office of Secretary of State, 1951. 44 pp.

Federal Government

Organization of Federal Executive Departments and Agencies (Including 37" by 43" Chart). Report of the Committee on Government Operations. (82nd Congress, 2nd Session, Senate, Committee Report No. 12) Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952. 26 pp.

Reorganization of the Federal Government. Status of Hoover Commission Reports, with list of public laws enacted, reorganization plans approved or disapproved, and bills presently pending to effectuate remaining commission recommendations. (82nd Congress, 2nd Session, Senate, Document No. 91). Washington, D. C., United States Government Printing Office, 1952. 17 pp.

Flouridation of Water

Fluoridation of Public Water Supplies. Annotated References. Detroit 26, Public Library, Municipal Reference Library, 1951. 13 pp.

Motor Vehicle Codes

A Comparative Study of the Vehicle and Traffic Law of the State of New York with the Uniform Vehicle Code. A Report of the New York State Joint Legislative Committee on Motor Vehicle Problems. Albany, New York, the Committee, 1951. 355 pp.

Mutual Security

The Mutual Security Program . . . for a strong and free world. First report of the President to Congress. Washington, D. C., U. S. Government Printing Office, 1952. 81 pp. Charts.

Ports

Ports of the San Francisco Bay Area, Their Commerce, Facilities, Problems and Progress. Final Report of the Senate Fact-finding Committee on San Francisco Bay Ports. Sacramento, Senate of the State of California, 1951. 598 pp.

Public Administration

Proceedings of the Second Annual Conference of the Institute of Public Administration of Canada. September 15-17, 1950. Edited by Philip T. Clark. Toronto 5, The Institute, 1951. 218 pp. (Apply editor at 256 Roxborough Street, East, Toronto.)

Public Safety

Education for Safe Living. Edited by Herbert Stack. New York 11, Payne Educational Sociology Foundation, *Journal of Educational Sociology*, December 1951. 60 pp. 35 cents.

Records

Archivos Administrativos Publicos (Public Records Administration, in Spanish only). By Philip C. Brooks. Chicago 37, Public Administration Service, 1952. 22 pp. \$1.

Recreation

Master Plan for Recreation. Murfreesboro, Tennessee, City Planning Commission, 1952. 56 pp.

Salaries

1952 Michigan Municipal Wages and Salaries. Cities and Villages over 4,000 Population. Hours of Work, Overtime Pay Practices and Holiday Pay Practices. Ann Arbor, Michigan Municipal League, 1952. 83 pp. \$3.

Urban Redevelopment

Urban Redevelopment—A Tool of Reconstruction. Cleveland 14, Regional Association of Cleveland, 1951. 23 pp. Illus.

Taxation and Finance

Financing Defense. The Tax Program. New York, Committee on Federal Tax Policy, 1951. 34 pp.

State Tax Legislation in 1951. Princeton, N. J., Tax Institute, 1951. 28 pp. 25 cents.

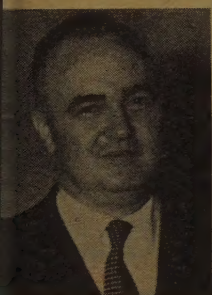
Traffic Safety

Operation Safety. Program Kit on Traffic Safety Promotion: Theme for May 1952, **Vehicle Maintenance.** Chicago 11, National Safety Council, 1952. Variously paged.

52 Conference Goes to San Antonio

(Continued from page 177)

well" the proposed city charter. More than 3,000 volunteers helped and the charter won by two to one. Last



Edward G. Conroy

November the citizens elected a full slate of nine councilmen of a quality seldom seen in most city halls.

Instead of waiting for applications to come in, the new council combed the coun-

ty with the avowed purpose of finding "the best city manager" and came up at the beginning of this year with A. Harrell, city manager of Norfolk, who had previously served three other cities.

San Antonio naturally won the "All-American Cities of 1951" award for progress achieved through "energetic, purposeful, intelligent citizen action." Indeed, members of the League staff who are constantly watching and coaching this kind of citizen effort feel it is a classic example of proof that citizens, far from being apathetic, are eager for the civic fight and are sure winners when the issues are clear.

San Antonio civic leaders suggest that delegates to the Conference arrange to arrive at least a day early to take advantage of the opportunities for sightseeing and to enjoy a taste of typical Texas hospitality at La Villita, older than San Antonio itself, which has been restored as a typical village of 200 years ago.

Another 'First' for Mount Vernon

Mount Vernon, Illinois, first city to make use of that state's new enabling act in adopting the council-manager form of government, also has become the first to adopt a design with which store windows and business letterheads may proclaim its winning of the "All-American Cities" award.

The design, selected in a contest sponsored by the Chamber of Commerce, Rotary, Lions, Kiwanis, Optimist and Junior Chamber of Commerce organizations, was won by a mail-carrier, Walter H. Mays, whose hobby is art and lettering.

O. R. Buford, local business man, campaigned so effectively in newspaper advertisements that the voters chimed in with his sentiments for a change by the almost unheard of margin of five to one to adopt the manager plan when petitions he circulated placed the question on the ballot. Mr. Buford conducted his one-man newspaper campaign for some time before the Illinois legislature passed an enabling act last summer.



Gallup Honors Atlanta, Columbia

George H. Gallup, member of the NML council and foreman of the "All-American Cities" jury, presented certificates in Atlanta, Georgia, and Columbia, South Carolina, at ceremonies last month.

Dr. Gallup, director of the American Institute of Public Opinion, told a dinner sponsored by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce on March 10 that the city had "set a new dynamic pattern" to solve the problem of metropolitan growth that still "scares the daylights out of New York, Boston, Chicago, Los Angeles—in fact, nearly every community in this country."

In presenting the award to R. Howard Dobbs, Jr., president of the Chamber of Commerce, Dr. Gallup pointed out that it was in recognition of the work of many civic leaders and citizen organizations that won voter acceptance of a "Plan of Improvement" (for story see page 182). Facsimile copies of the award were distributed to the 400 guests.

Before a mass meeting of 1,400 citizens in Columbia, Dr. Gallup presented the certificate to Mayor J. Macfie Anderson, who received it on behalf of the citizenry. He ordained Dr. Gallup an honorary citizen and gave him a golden key to the city.



George H. Gallup (left) presenting certificate to R. Howard Dobbs, Jr., President, Atlanta Chamber of Commerce.

Columbia's award was for a citizen effort that, over a period of three years, won from the legislature the right to dump its commission government for the council-manager plan, got it adopted by the voters and saw a \$300,000 deficit turn into a \$200,000 surplus after only a year of efficient operation by City Manager Thomas F. Maxwell.

Dr. Gallup was introduced by City Councilman Lester L. Bates, insurance executive and newly elected NML regional vice president. Mr. Bates presented Columbia's story to the All-American Cities jury at the National Conference on Government in Cincinnati last November.

Mayor J. Macfie Anderson (left) receiving Columbia certificate from George H. Gallup. The Capital Life Chorale is in background.

